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NARRATIVE

OF

THE LATE MUTINY AT BOLARUM.

FULLY to understand the causes of the late outbreak and attempt at murder, requires some explanations which may appear tedious, and for which we must bespeak the indulgence of our readers. Most people, even in England, have heard of the Muharram—*i.e.*, the ten days' fast observed by the Shiahs, or followers of Ali, in remembrance of the death of Hasan and Hussein, the sons of Ali and Fatima, the daughter of Muhammad. Hasan was poisoned, and Hussein was slain at Kerbella, in Arabia, on the 10th day of the month Muharram. It is consequently a time of mourning and lamentation, when all devout Shiahs fast and deprive themselves of every customary luxury, spending every evening in reading and reciting dirges, beating their breasts, and bewailing with tears and groans the fate of the martyrs. As Kasim, the son of Hasan, was married to the daughter of Hussein just before he fell, the seventh day of Muharram is observed by marriage processions, called Maindi; and on the tenth day of the fast, the Tázias, or models of the bier of Hussein, are carried in procession, with allums, or standards—made in the fashion of an open hand, etc.—to an open place representing the desert of Kerbella, where they are thrown into a tank, or otherwise disposed of. It is to be observed that of these standards, called allums, the only one recognised by Northern Muhammadans is the Panjá, or Hand of Hussein; but many others are used in India,—one called the Nál Sáhib, literally Mr. Horseshot, to which people, especially women, make vows. They are all made of metal or wood, but none of them are what we style flags. In the Dekkan, the Máharram is so far perverted from its original purpose, that it is a season of festivity, not only for Sunis, who are regularly and devoutly cursed during its celebration by all orthodox Shiahs, “Suní par lánat!”—“Curses on the Sunis!”—being part of the established formulary—but also by Hindus, who become, *pro tempore*, Mussulmans, fight by their side against people of their own caste, and will eat no meat that has not been made lawful in Muhammadan fashion. But the stricter and more sincere Mussulmans

highly disapprove of mummery and licence, so inconsistent with the commemoration of a martyrdom.

The Nizam's Horse, which consisted of five regiments (or Rissallahs), have long been considered the finest irregular cavalry in India, with the exception of Jacob's Horse. The Irregular Cavalry is peculiarly constituted. The pay of the private, who ought to be of gentle blood, used to be 40 rupees a month. He finds his horse, arms, and accoutrements, and is styled a Silladar. The right of having a horse in the regiment is called an Asami; it is hereditary, and worth from 1500 to 2000 rupees, and if the owner has more than one, or is incapable of riding it (as a woman or child), he gives a fixed part of the pay to a Bargeer, or trooper, and retains the greater portion of it himself. Many of those best acquainted with the feelings of natives, consider that the Nizam's Cavalry has been in a discontented state for the last three years, owing to some acts of the Supreme Government. The Rissaldar, or native commandant of the 5th Cavalry, was tried at the instance of a most unpopular European commandant, and acquitted; but the Government, considering that he had too great influence in the regiment, owing to the number of Asamis he possessed, insisted on the forced sale of a great portion of them, thus depreciating the value of his property. Wishing to reduce the Contingent, the Supreme Government also ordained that the Asamis should cease on the death of either the Silladar or Bargeer, which was much like suddenly proclaiming that dividends in the Three per Cent. were only liferents.

The 5th Rissallah was afterwards disbanded, although it had at that very time greatly distinguished itself, and the whole of the cavalry very naturally felt that their hope of promotion and their personal property were alike insecure.

Not one of these regiments had ever been stained with disloyalty, save the 3d, which had not only cut its Rissaldar to pieces, and on another occasion murdered its commandant, Major Davies, but bore a general bad character for insolence and dissipation. They were opium-eaters almost to a man, and two years previously one of them had drawn his sword on the wife of an officer at Hingoli. The only punishment he received was being sent to Elichipúr, where the other wing of the regiment was stationed.*

The Nizam's Cavalry were formerly under a separate brigadier; but on the reformation of the Contingent, at the beginning of 1854, the whole country was comprised in two divisions, the Southern under

* This fact, when recently brought to the notice of the Resident, was received with a reproof.

Brigadier Colin Mackenzie, the Northern under, Brigadier William Mayne, of the Bengal Native Infantry, who, having been previously the Cavalry Brigadier, was, contrary to the advice of the Resident of the time being, allowed to retain the command of the cavalry throughout the Contingent. On his departure on sick leave some months later, the next senior officer succeeded him in command of his division, and the next senior cavalry officer, Captain Sutherland Orr, Commandant of the 3d Cavalry, then stationed at Bolarum, succeeded him in command of the cavalry, thus forming an *imperium in imperio*, and exercising an independent command, although personally subject to Brigadier Mackenzie's authority, the latter having no control whatever over the cavalry within his division, save for parade and detachment purposes, and possessing no power to inquire into its discipline or internal economy. This, however, appeared of the less consequence, as Brigadier Mackenzie had been for years the staunch friend of Captain Orr, and had done his best to procure for him the command of the regiment; but as the cavalry were sedulously taught to look up to and obey no officers but their own, and to consider themselves in every respect as wholly distinct from, and superior to, the other branches of the service, it is evident that even an unintentional want of unison between the Brigadier and their Commandant might be productive of evil consequences.

It is usual for commanding officers of regiments to apply for leave for their Mussulman troops for ten days at the time of the Muharram, and accordingly Captain Donald M'Kinnon, commanding the 3d Regiment of Nizam's Infantry, sent in his application to the Brigade-Major. The latter observing that leave was asked for from Monday the 17th September, instead of from the 14th, and knowing that Sunday the 23d was the great day in the neighbouring cantonment of Sekunderabad, was at a loss to reconcile the discrepancy. The first three days of the fast being of little importance, it was a custom in the cantonment to date the leave three days after the commencement of the Muharram, in order that the men should have three days after the end of it to become clean and sober before resuming duty — this fast being by the degenerate Mussulmans of India converted into a season of unbridled licence, during which they become perfectly insane with excitement, ardent spirits, opium, and bhang.

Strange to say, the Brigade-Major had forgotten this, and sent out his writer to ask an explanation from the bearer of the application, whose reply was, "Oh, we do not follow the Sekunderabad people; we always have ours three days later," which Captain Hoseason took

to mean that they kept the Muharram three days later. Under this mistake, he informed Brigadier Mackenzie that Wednesday the 26th was the great day of the Muharram, and the Brigadier directed him to "issue the usual orders" for preventing collision between the rival processions of different regiments, or annoyance to the other inhabitants of cantonments, by pointing out the route to which each procession was to restrict itself. On the "usual orders," which he copied *verbatim* from those of the previous year, the Brigade-Major added a clause (on the supposition that Sunday was a wholly unimportant day to the Shiah) as follows:—"No processions, music, or noise will be allowed, on any account whatever, from twelve o'clock on Saturday to twelve o'clock Sunday night." As soon as the Brigadier read this in the order-book on Thursday afternoon (it not having been submitted to him previously), he at once disapproved of it as injudicious, especially in naming the Christian Sabbath; but having given an express injunction to "issue the usual orders," he thought there must be some precedent for this paragraph, and, therefore, instead of cancelling it on the spot, determined to inquire into the matter as soon as the Brigade-Major should arrive. It is to be observed that every cantonment is divided into districts assigned to the different branches of the service, as the artillery lines, the officers' lines, the cavalry lines, which are sacred from the intrusion of those of another arm, especially as regards festivals or religious ceremonies. A Hindu procession venturing into the cavalry lines would probably be cut to pieces. Of course the officers are entitled to the same protection from annoyance as the men under their command, and, so far from any disposition having been evinced to obtrude Christian observances on Hindus or Mussulmans, the British in India have incurred contempt by not requiring due respect and even-handed toleration for their own religion from their own subjects.

The Orders of 1854 and 1855 proclaimed (as is usual in *all cantonments*) that "no processions will be allowed in any of the main roads near the Officers' Quarters." This applies not only to the crowning procession of the Tazias, or biers, but to those peculiar to Southern India, which form no part of the religious ceremony, and partake much more of the character of saturnalian rites than of a mourning solemnity. Few respectable people join them. They consist of mummers, fantastically painted, or disguised as bears, tigers, men dressed as women, and are of a very disgusting nature, and shared in by Hindus as well as by the lower class of Mussulmans; and it is easy to perceive the consequences which would result from bands of uproarious, half-intoxicated mummers, being allowed to range at will

over the roads which form the only drives and rides of the European officers and ladies.

The above order was issued on Thursday, the 20th September, before two P.M. The Commandants of Regiments had, therefore, ample time to remonstrate against it the same day, the infantry and artillery being affected by them equally with the cavalry. Neither of these corps, however, took any notice of the matter. A very significant circumstance had previously occurred.

On Tuesday, the 18th, Dr. Riddell gave an early dinner to Mr. Bushby, the Resident, and a party of friends. Mr. Bushby drove out after dinner and returned in the evening, and said on entering, "Those Muharram people have grossly insulted me." Some one suggested that perhaps they had not recognised him, though this was improbable, as the Resident is always attended by two Sawars of the Madras Cavalry. "Not at all," he replied, "they knew me perfectly, and insulted me grossly." This occurrence took place near the cavalry lines and Bazar, and several of the guests remarked the unusual insolence of those celebrating the Muharram. This circumstance was, however, never communicated by the Resident to the Brigadier, who only learnt it long afterwards, although he was, of course, responsible for the peace of the cantonment under his command; and there is every reason to believe it was never laid before Government.

On Thursday evening, a procession passed near the Brigade-Major's house, making a great uproar. It consisted of people of the Pioneer Bazar (one of them being a servant of the Resident). On seeing Captain Hoscason come out of his gate, they fled before he had time to speak a word, knowing they had no business on that road. Only one man remained, who, when the Brigade-Major inquired why he came there, replied, he was merely going to eat his dinner. As it is not usual for persons to beat a tomtom on their way to dinner, Captain Hoscason took away the one he was using, and desired him to call for it the next day. A party from the Rissallah went down the public road that night, but as they went quietly without noise to pay a visit to the infantry, they were allowed to pass without hindrance. Between nine and ten the same night, the Kotwal, or Mayor, sent to inform the Brigade-Major that the Sawars were making a disturbance in his Bazar. Captain Hoscason, unwilling to disturb Captain Orr, and it being the custom, in this Rissallah, that orders should be sent either direct to the Commandant or direct to the Rissaldar (Native Commandant) [the European second in command and Adjutant being reduced to mere nonentities], despatched

the native officer of the day, with his compliments, to the 'Bissaldar to request he would be careful to confine the amusements of his men within their own lines. By a sort of fatality, the native officer in question happened to be one whom his Commandant, Captain M'Kinnon, had some time before reported as "mentally unfit" for service, but who had been retained by the medical committee. The poor old man, who had done good service in his day, apparently misunderstood the verbal message, and not only desired that all lights might be put out by ten o'clock, which, either maliciously or in good faith, was immediately done without remonstrance, but conveyed the same order to the lines of the 3d Infantry and the Great Bazar. The next morning Captain M'Kinnon discovered the mistake, desired his men to begin their amusements again, and went off to complain to the Brigade-Major. The whole occurrence was never reported to the 'Brigadier, who was completely ignorant of it until long afterwards.

Early on Friday morning two of Brigadier Mackenzie's daughters met Captain Sutherland Orr, who informed them that some of his native officers had been to his house at early dawn to remonstrate against the order which put a stop to the celebration of the Muharram on the ensuing Sunday; adding, that if it were not reversed, there would be an "awful row." He then went to the Brigadier's house to represent the matter; and the latter, having sent for a Kazilbash gentleman, formerly a Shiah, but now a Christian, named Aga Muhammad Khan, who resided in his compound, no sooner ascertained from him that the crowning ceremony really fell on that day, than he desired Captain Orr to go at once to the Brigade Major's and have the order cancelled. It is worthy of note that Captain Orr never gave the Brigadier the least reason to suppose that a bad feeling existed in his regiment, or that there was *the smallest likelihood of any insubordinate demonstration*. The reason he afterwards gave for this concealment was, "that, knowing his fearless disposition, he dreaded that he would put it down by force."

It is unnecessary to remark on the heavy responsibility a junior officer assumes when he thus deliberately conceals the state of troops under his command from his superior, because he happens to differ from him as to the proper mode of enforcing and maintaining discipline.

Captain Orr accordingly went to Captain Hoseason's quarters about nine A.M. (the time of day is important), communicated the Brigadier's orders, and received repeated instructions to explain the mistake to his men immediately, and to assure them the procession would be permitted as usual, without waiting for the formal publication of the

order of the day. This, by Captain Orr's own account, he did immediately on returning to his own house, where the Rissaldar and some of the native officers were waiting for him. He told them that they must clearly understand that the "tamasha" (shows) of tigers, bears, etc., which are "Din se bahár" (i.e., outside their religion), were not to go on the public roads, whereupon they all wagged their heads native fashion, and replied, "~~They~~ *are* din se bahár" (have nothing to do with religion). He then inquired, "May I rely on the order being strictly observed?" Their answer was, "Who would dare to disobey it?" If Captain Orr's account be correct, the order of the 20th could not possibly have been the cause of the mutiny, seeing it was cancelled, the mistake explained, and the Rissallah quite satisfied. If the mistake was not clearly explained to every man in the regiment, Captain Orr was responsible for the neglect. By his own account, they perfectly understood how the mistake had arisen, were pleased and grateful for the order being cancelled, and promised obedience to the usual restrictions. Yet, nevertheless, when they came in open defiance of orders on the public road, making the greatest possible uproar on purpose to insult the Brigadier, i.e., the Government, Captain Orr openly blamed his superior officer for enforcing orders—a thing his military oath imperatively required him to do. Jemadar Shah Mirza Beg, of the 5th troop, who was suffering from fever, explained the order, not only to every man of his troop, but also to the horse-keepers, admonishing the latter that if they dared to go on the roads, he would flog them most terribly. This Jemadar, like most of the regiment, is a Suni; and being a very strict one, utterly declines having anything to do with what he calls the idolatry of the Muharram.

I have mentioned the name of Aga Muhammad Khan; a slight sketch of his history is necessary to the full understanding of what followed. Aga Muhammad Khan, a native of Kabul, of Persian descent, is the son of a man of great respectability, who was employed by Sir Claud Wado to establish the shawl trade at Loodiana, and otherwise to promote the commerce of the North-Western Provinces. After the Kabul disasters, Prince Fattih Jung having been proclaimed king on the death of his father, Shah Shujah, gallantly held the Bala Hisár, or citadel of Kabul, against Muhammad Akbar Khan; until, being in extremity, he sent to General Pollock, in May 1842, for assistance. The General, who was then at Jellalabad, was unable to help him. Fattih Jung held the citadel for six weeks, and was then obliged to surrender, upon terms which were not observed by his foes. He was not only closely confined, but his torture and death determined

on for the next day; when Aga Muhammad, who held a confidential station about his person, contrived, at great risk to himself, to smuggle the Prince out of prison, hid him in his father's house, and having furnished him with all the money he could raise, eventually effected his escape to General Pollock's camp. At this time the British General and Political Agent were proclaiming far and wide that service rendered to the cause of Shah Shujah and his family should be reckoned as done to the British Government, and recompensed accordingly. Nevertheless, when Aga Mahummad was compelled to fly his country, a ruined man, he met with neither assistance nor reward, until long after, when, by Lord Dalhousie's recommendation, a small pension was conferred upon him. Having reached Loodiana, he became personally acquainted with Brigadier, then Captain Colin Mackenzie, commanding the 4th Regiment Sikh L. I. Being a man of education and extreme amiability and sweetness of disposition, a friendship commenced, which has continued ever since. At the close of 1849 he accompanied the Brigadier to the Dekkan. They had for some time been in the habit of reading the Persian Testament together, when a severe illness seemed to give force to the impression thus made upon Aga Sahib's mind, and on a journey to Bombay, at the beginning of 1851, he expressed a wish to be further instructed in Christianity. The Brigadier therefore left him under the care of the Free Church Mission. He attended the Free Assembly's Institution; learnt English; and the determined opposition of his wife—a woman of great energy and noble character—having yielded before a gradually increasing knowledge of the Gospel, which her husband taught her to read, he declared himself a Christian, and was baptized on the 23d October 1853. The Bibi, his wife, followed his example in November 1854. On Mrs. Mackenzie's return to India, they, in April 1855 (accompanied by the mother of the Bibi, a bigoted old Mussulmañ), rejoined the Brigadier at Bolarum on exactly the same footing as formerly, save that the tie of friendship was naturally much strengthened by the new community of faith and of feeling.

Aga Sahib, anxious to make himself useful, gratuitously gave instruction in Persian in an English school, established by subscription for children of the upper ranks, and partly supported by the Nizam's enlightened minister, Nawab Salar Jung. His chief pupils were the children of a Rajah, by (strange to say) a Muhammadan mother, who are therefore brought up as Mussulmans. He also occasionally accompanied the schoolmaster, a catechist in the employ of Mr. Arbuthnot, of the Madras C. S., to speak to the people on religion, and distribute tracts. He went twice to the Bazar of the Native

Infantry, and met with nothing but civility: and on one occasion went to the Bazar close to the cavalry lines, and had some discussion with those assembled. At first everything was friendly; but at last some of the party got angry, and the catechist refusing to retire, he and Aga Muhammad were pushed and pelted. They both declined to prefer any complaint against the Sawar who was chiefly concerned, as they said, "The Mussulman will think we are like themselves in supporting religion by force." This was the sum total of the Aga's intercourse with the Rissallah,* but they hated him as a converted Moghul.

On Friday, the 21st September, Captain M'Kinnon's Munshi was searching for him all over cantonments, as it afterwards turned out, to warn him that there would be an outbreak of some sort in the evening: but his master having gone into Sekunderabad, he, native-like, would not communicate the information to any one else. He had been present at the Rissaldar's† when the order came to stop the music and lights on Thursday night. The Rissaldar remarked to the troopers, "I shall report this to-morrow to the Captain Sahib, and after that, 'Tūn mālīk ho—You are the masters'—i.e., 'The matter is in your hands.' The infantry and artillery have been knocked over before now by the mere stumbling of the cavalry." Now this anticipation of a collision between the infantry and cavalry clearly shows that the latter entertained the idea of mutinying at that period. How long they had done so is not known, nor their special motives; and neither are likely to be brought to light, as far as appearances go.

The fresh orders, cancelling those of the previous day, left the Brigade Office about two p.m., on Friday, in ample time to be communicated to every man in cantonments long before sunset; and they were so to the infantry and artillery; but at least one Duffadar of the cavalry states that he read them for the first time by lamplight that night.

Just after sunset, Captain and Mrs. Orr came to the Brigadier's, and the ladies sat down in the open air, commanding a full view of the low hedge which bounds the garden, and of the road beyond it. A considerable distance to their right front was the great gate of the compound, and on the opposite side of the road a small Roman Catholic chapel, behind which were the lines of the 3d Rissallah.

A procession of men and lads, with at least two persons on horse-back, came along the road quietly, until they reached the corner of the

* Cavalry Regiment.

† Native Commandant of a Cavalry Regiment.

¹ Brigadier's compound, when they halted, and then moved along the road at the foot of his garden, making a hideous uproar. Brigadier Mackenzie said, "Orr, those are some of your people;" and sent •Bapu Rao, his Mahratta Chaprasi,* to desire them to leave off the noise they were making on that road, and to go round by the back way. Mrs. Orr, greatly agitated, cried, "Oh, don't meddle with them! they nearly mutinied last ~~year~~ at Hingoli, and I am sure there will be something of the kind now." Captain Orr said, "You should not say that;" but added his entreaties that the Brigadier would not interfere. The mob refused obedience, and the Brigadier then sent, first his orderly, a Naig (native corporal), named Chanda Din, and lastly, the Havildar † of his guard, to reiterate the order, giving them the choice of going, or surrendering their flags, turning at the same time towards the gate. The flags were small and square (chequered red and green), such as form no part of the religious procession, and *not* allums, or standards. The mob answered insolently that the roads were theirs (!), that they would not go, and would make a noise. Mrs. Orr became very much alarmed, and said to Mrs. Mackenzie, "Oh, you don't know how dangerous they are at the time of the Muharram." Upon this Mrs. M. followed her husband, and meeting Captain Orr half-way, he made some remark to the effect that it was a pity the Brigadier interfered. She understood this to refer only to the danger thereby incurred, and replied, "But he is quite right, don't you think so?" Captain Orr, on being pressed for an answer, replied, "No; I think it very wrong of him." Mrs. Mackenzie, knowing nothing of the orders issued, rejoined, "Then go and tell him so plainly; you know he can bear to hear the truth. Go now;" and gently pushed him towards the gate. Thus urged, Captain Orr went out, leaving Mrs. Mackenzie close to the hedge, from which she distinctly saw everything that took place. The Brigadier, finding his authority set at defiance, reflected that he had only two courses open to him, for there was no possibility of identifying the culprits afterwards, owing to their disguise; one was to send out his guard (at this season composed exclusively of Hindus) to turn the procession by force, and take their flags from them; this he was unwilling to adopt, as it might have brought on a religious blood-feud between the infantry and cavalry; ‡ the other was to try

* A Chaprasi is an official messenger, with a badge, by which it is known to what office he is attached

† Native Sergeant.

‡ All the Infantry on duty at this season being Hindus, between whom and the Mussulmans great religious animosity prevails.

what his personal interference and authority would do. The only objection to this was the great personal risk, but it had the advantage of preventing all bloodshed but his own. Being in total ignorance of the disaffected state of the regiment, neither the Resident nor Captain Sutherland Orr having given him the least hint of their knowledge of it, and having twice in Afghanistan put down mutiny single-handed—once by threatening to shoot the first man who should disobey, and another time by cutting down the ringleader, who subsequently stuck to him with the utmost fidelity through all the horrors of our Kabul disasters, and years afterwards displayed the scar of this identical wound as a sort of love-token between them—it is no wonder that, although completely unarmed, he deliberately chose the latter alternative, and *again he succeeded.*

He went out quietly, reminded the rioters of his orders, and gave them the choice of either giving up their flags, or going off the forbidden road. They reiterated, "The roads are ours!" whereupon he seized first one flag, and then the other, drew them out of the hands of the bearers, and handed them to his Chaprasi, who took them, totally uninjured, into the house. Captain Orr came up at this moment, and there was a cry of, "Here is our Captain Sahib! let us hear what he has to say!" A Sawar, so disguised that, as Captain Orr said, no one could have told that he was a trooper, but whom Captain Orr, knowing him personally, recognised as Sir Bilund Khan, of the first troop, made as if he would strike the Brigadier, crying, "My flags (bauti) are as dear as my life." "Why did you not take your flags away?" said the Brigadier, turning upon him, and, on his refusal to lay down his arms, wresting his sword from his hand, struck him with the flat of it over the head, and desired the guard to take him prisoner. A common man from the Bazar placed himself insolently in front of the Brigadier, saying, "I am a Reader." "Well, have you not the whole Maidán (plain) to read in? Jao!" (Be off!); giving him a slight cuff with his open hand. Just as the whole of the mob dispersed, and ran across the little green which separated them from the lines, shouting, Din! Din! (Religion)—the Muhammedan war-cry, the Brigadier ordered a Duffadar, who had been sitting by on his horse the whole time, to desire the Risaldar to send a picket of five-and-twenty troopers to keep the peace, and to come over immediately himself. The attempted open insult to lawful authority was thus prevented, and there the first act of the drama ended. There is, however, every reason to believe, that this procession was a pre-arranged trap to induce the Brigadier, by upholding discipline, to afford some pretext for the open mutiny

of the regiment. Previous to the dispersion of the mob, Captain Sutherland Orr, alarmed, as he afterwards stated, at the consequences of arresting a Sawar (!!!), persuaded the guard that the luckless reader (who turned out to be wholly ignorant of his letters), and not Sir Bilund Khan, was the man whom the Brigadier had ordered them to seize, and, to use his own words, "*coaxed* the latter to go to his lines." When, two days afterwards, Mrs. Mackenzie inquired his reasons for so doing, he replied, that he dreaded that "the whole regiment might come down and release him, and then matters would have been worse." She merely observed, "They could not have been worse." What must be thought of the state of a regiment if it could not endure the arrest of a trooper taken in the very act of mutinous disobedience, and who had attempted to strike his commanding officer? What an utter state of insubordination must the Rissallah have been in, if this fear of Captain Orr's were well founded!

Sir Bilund Khan was no sooner released, than, as it afterwards appeared, he rushed off to the lines, threw his turban on the ground, and gathered the whole regiment by the war-cry of "Din! Din!" The Brigadier was ignorant that this man was a trooper. Had he known it, he would probably have cut him down. Captain S. Orr, conscious that the mutineer deserved this, repeatedly explained that there was no complaint to make on the score of his having been struck, granted that the Brigadier would have been justified in shooting him, and yet left him at large for at least two days. Brigadier Mackenzie's own account of the matter to a friend was as follows:—"No one has ever denied that it was my express duty to prohibit the passage of all processions during the Muharram along the trunk-road or main artery of the cantonment which runs in front of my garden. Had I neglected this positive duty, I should have incurred a heavy responsibility; and I doubt not that if I had omitted to take this among other usual precautions to prevent affrays, accidents, etc., the Government would, in case of anything of the kind happening, have adjudged me unworthy to retain my military command. When, therefore, the advance of the riotous procession by the forbidden route informed me that the authority of Government delegated to me in my commission was being deliberately insulted, I at once appreciated my position, and all the bearings of the affair, including my own personal danger; for I have not been upwards of thirty years in the army without knowing that so glaring and insolent an act of disobedience to the highest military authority in a Cantonment, must originate in something deeper than the vagaries of a few drunken camp-followers. Decisive and immediate action was neces-

sary. Three courses were open to me. First, to skulk under hatches, which would have been contrary to my nature and my oath. Secondly, as after identification would have been impossible, to turn out my Hindu infantry guard, and to arrest the progress of the rioters. Had I done so, the chances were a hundred to one that the excited Muhammedan rabble, full of opium and wickedness, would have drawn their swords, and that blood would have been shed; thus affording a plausible pretext for immediate collision and for a permanent religious feud between the Mussulman cavalry and the Hindu infantry. I therefore refused to comply with the reiterated request of the Havildar, and others of my guard, to allow them to load; and chose the third alternative (having sent out three successive messengers without effect), of going out and remonstrating with the rioters myself. I did not rush out of my compound, as has been falsely reported to Lord Dalhousie. I walked out quietly, and spoke to the leaders of the procession in a tone of command, but without violence. Captain S. Orr knew perfectly well that the fellows belonged to his Rissallah, inasmuch as, previous to my leaving the compound, he had begged me to take no notice of the disobedience of the procession, lest it should produce an outbreak in his regiment; and yet, when I did go, he did not accompany me. He only joined me when Mrs. Mackenzie urged him repeatedly to do so, actually pushing him. By the time he arrived, my parleying with the rioters had come to an end, by their endeavouring to push their way onwards with shouts of defiance, more than one threatening me with his sword. To have given way at such a moment would have been lamentable weakness indeed; and I therefore wrested the standards out of the hands of those who bore them, and also a sheathed sabre from a man who menaced me, and who repeatedly refused to lay down his arms. With this sheathed sabre I struck the rascal on the head; and, to make a long story short, I succeeded in the object for which I had gone out. At the hazard of my life, I spared the lives of others which had justly been forfeited. I checked the incipient mutiny, upheld the authority of Government, and dispersed the rioters, who all fled to their lines, howling and shouting, 'Dín! Dín!' Here my part as an agent ceased; and again I beg you to remark, that I had been perfectly successful. Several officers of rank and distinction have observed to me, that had the affair ended here, every one would have exclaimed, 'Brigadier Mackenzie has acted with equal spirit and humanity!' With regard to what I had to suffer subsequently, I protest against the monstrous injustice of being held answerable for the treachery and mutiny of the 3d Rissallah. Ill-informed as he remained on the subject, owing to the poverty of

the information (not to say reticence of the truth) which characterized the proceedings laid before him, Lord Dalhousie himself confessed in his general order that I had done nothing to justify the subsequent conduct of the troopers. My suppression of the riot, and the subsequent attempt to assassinate me, were two distinct acts of the drama; and I have not yet found any man acquainted with the real circumstances of the case who has been able to answer the pertinent question, 'If it was wrong to act as I did, *what ought I to have done?*' Neither has the Government pointed out for the benefit of the army at large what ought to be done by commandants on similar occasions. It is very possible that if Mr. Bushby had informed me of the gross insults he had received, three days previous to the trap laid for me, from the same people, viz., the Muharram mob of the Rissallah, and if Captain S. Orr had put me in possession of his knowledge of the disaffected state of his regiment at the same time, I should have felt no hesitation in pitting faithful Hindus against treacherous Muhammedans, and that I would at once have sounded the alarm, turned out the infantry and artillery, sent into Sekunderabad for support, and treated the mutineers not 'coaxingly,' but with allopathic doses of steel and lead. But from no one, not even from the men who were most terrified when the outbreak did take place, had I received the slightest intimation of the real state of affairs. My Staff Captain Hoseason appears to have been equally ignorant of what was going on, as he made no report to me on the subject."

By this time the rioters had fled. Mrs. Mackenzie, urged by two of her servants, who were greatly alarmed at the Brigadier going into the midst of the mob, sent to beg him to come in, as she feared Mrs. Orr would be ill; and finding he did not come, she went out to him, and at the gate met the guard with the prisoner, a disreputable-looking man, with his turban slouched over one eye, also the Chaprasi, with the little red and green flags, and a servant carrying the two swords the Brigadier had taken, one of them a sheathed cavalry sword, the other without a sheath. The whole party returned slowly to the compound, joined by Mr. Murray, second in command of the 3d Rissallah; and when Mrs. Mackenzie remonstrated with her husband for thus exposing himself, he replied, "You do not understand the matter; I cannot suffer my orders to be set at defiance." Finding it so plain a question of duty, she, of course, ceased to object. He then desired her to go to the house, and Captain Orr took Mr. Murray on one side and spoke earnestly to him. Just after an alarm occurred that the rioters were returning, Mrs. Mackenzie desired the gate to be shut, but the Brigadier forbade it, and on the Havildar of his guard again

asking permission to load, he refused, not wishing, as he afterwards stated, to parry before a blow was struck, and not being willing to trust to the discretion of Sepahis with loaded fire-arms. Captain Orr went towards the house, and was not above fifty paces from the gate when one of the party cried, "Oh, they have broken in the gate!" and turning, they saw the mob of Sawars rushing in with furious shouts and uplifted sabres and sticks.

The Brigadier had again desired his wife to go in; she had done so (leaving him walking up and down with Mr. Murray, some of his guard standing by), and found Captain Orr, with his wife, already in the house. Shortly after the Brigadier walked in, and leant against the opposite door. His wife ran and laid hold of his arm, and in so doing her hand went into the boue. He said, "Help me into the little court." She did so, and sent two of his daughters for wine, as he was very faint. It was too dark to see how dreadfully he was wounded, and she left him sitting on the step, and sent a messenger to desire the 3d Infantry to come immediately, and another for Dr. Whitelock. On her return she found that Captain Orr had laid the Brigadier on his back in the little walled court adjoining the room.

To return to what had passed outside. As his wife left him in the avenue, the Brigadier was aware of the near approach of another mob. He desired Aga Sahib to go into the house. The latter refused. He replied, "It is my order; it will be more dangerous for us both if you stay here." Whereupon Aga Sahib very unwillingly obeyed. Passing the guard, he called to them to load, and flew to his own house to get his arms ready. As soon as his wife found he had left the Brigadier in danger, she reproached him vehemently before he could say a word in his defence.

In the meantime the Brigadier sent four Sepahis to close the gate, ordering them to allow no one to enter. The Havildar of the guard had gone with the prisoner to the guard-house, which was at a considerable distance, and *quite out of sight*.

Mr. Murray entreated him to go into the house, but he replied, "I cannot leave my own avenue. I cannot suffer myself to be bearded by these fellows;" feeling, as he afterwards explained to an officer who asked him why he had not taken refuge in the house, "that as a gentleman he could not run without a blow having been struck," and being anxious to prevent the mob from following the ladies into the house. It was better, he said, two days later, "that I should face a fanatical mob like that alone, than bring them down on a party of helpless women."

In a moment a crowd of armed Sowars burst open the gate; the four Sepahis ported arms instead of using their bayonets; they were thrust on one side; and the Brigadier, hearing the mutineers approach, said to Lieutenant Murray, "We must face them." As he afterwards related, "Murray stuck by me gallantly; he turned with me as if I had given the word of command, and yet he knew as well as I what was coming." They walked a few paces towards the mutineers, and the Brigadier raised his hand in the act of speaking, thinking that some spark of discipline must still remain in them, when a man sprang from behind another who was beating a drum, and struck him a violent blow with a sword on the head. Sabre cuts followed in rapid succession; one, six inches long, split the skull down to the brain; another severed the outer bone of the left arm; a third cut the deltoid to the bone; two others took off the middle finger of the right hand, and severed all the tendons and bones at the back of it. His not having fallen is no less than a miracle. "The Lord stood by him and strengthened him."

Mr. Murray was knocked down, stunned, and cut over the hip, and the Brigadier finding, as he told the doctor, that "there was no chance of the fellows listening to reason," in other words, that to stand there was to be murdered, at last turned and made for the house. Streaming with blood from no less than ten wounds, God gave him such strength that he actually outran his pursuers, though they were after him like a pack of hungry wolves. As he mounted the steps of his new house one or two overtook him, and gave him two tremendous gashes on the back, one of them eleven inches long. A Chaprasi and servant shut the door of the house after him, and while the mutineers were breaking it open, bursting the venetians out of their frames, he opened the opposite door, passed through two smaller rooms, down some steps, across a small garden, up into a verandah, where he had evidently staggered, a large circle being sprinkled with his blood, returning into the old part of the house, and then in and out of his daughters' bed-rooms and sitting-rooms, through the dining and drawing-rooms, looking for his family, and giving orders as he passed to put out all the lights, and thence into the little room beyond, where, by the good providence of God, the whole party were assembled. The whole way was tracked with his blood, and it seemed no less than a miracle that one so sorely wounded could walk so far, open and shut doors with both hands disabled, and retain such perfect coolness and presence of mind. He forbade lights being brought to examine his wounds, but the moon soon shone out, and one deadly gash after another was revealed. His wife, not knowing the mutineers were actually in the

house, not only went repeatedly into the dining-room, but sent her daughters for what was required, and one of them had barely time to get out of the drawing-room when the Sawars burst in the doors. The house was intricate to a stranger, and having effected an entrance into the new wing, they searched it in vain for their prey. Seeing the Ayah flying, they called out, "Kill her too, she is a Christian;" but at that moment one of them destroyed the lamp with his sabre, and she escaped in the darkness. They then came round to the front of the old part of the house, broke in the doors, overturned the furniture, cut chairs to pieces, slashed wall shades, Phankah frills, etc., threatening to kill the Mahratta Chaprasi if he did not tell where his master was, and loudly declaring they would put the ladies to death. They fired repeatedly; two balls were afterwards found in the house, and one passed over the Brigadier as he lay fainting on the ground. Guffoor Khan, himself a Sawar of the 3d Rissallah, who had been for some years the Brigadier's standing orderly, exerted himself to draw on his mutinous comrades and persuade them they had killed the Brigadier, and that the ladies had fled to the Residency. He also gave them back the two little flags. Mrs. Mackenzie, wanting something for her husband, was about to open the door leading into the room where the mutineers were, when the servants throw themselves in her way, and informed her the house and compound were full of them. Being ignorant at this time that the assassins were troopers, and that the whole regiment was implicated, she despatched an old servant with a ring, *with her name on it*, as a token to the Rissaldar, that he was to come over *instantly* with the whole regiment, when Captain Orr came out. She said to him, "I am sending for the Rissallah, give me your ring." He half drew it off, and then said, hesitatingly, "I had better go to the Lines." She replied, "Do go." News was brought that the regiment was mounting, at which she expressed her satisfaction; but the servants sadly said, "If the cavalry are mounting it is *not for us*," and strongly urged her to move their master. A Palki and hospital bearers were therefore sent for. Captain Orr looked greatly troubled, and his manner made her suspect, for the first time, that his regiment was not to be trusted, and that he knew it; but she left the matter in his hands, and returned to her husband, expecting every moment the assassins would burst in upon them. Gurdial, Orderly, gave the first alarm in the infantry lines, which are very near the back of the house. The Subadar Major (Native Commandant) collected all the standing guards at hand (about twenty men), and was bringing them to the Brigadier's compound, when Jemadar (Native Lieutenant) Sumjawn met him, and persuaded

him to let him take them over, while the Subadar Major took charge of the regiment.

The Jemadar made his men load, but found none of the mutineers. On asking for orders, Guffoor Khan, the Orderly Sawar, told him the Sahib forbade him to fire, as it would make matters worse. He turned to the Havildar (Native Sergeant) of the Guard, Bowani Uppadiah, who had joined his party, and asked what he had seen; who replied, that the Brigadier having sent him to the guard-house with the prisoner, he had seen nothing (the guard-house being a considerable distance to the rear of the dwelling house), but that previous to sending him away the Brigadier had more than once refused to grant him permission to load. This was all true.

Three Sawars then came out of the house, and Havildar Jurakim entreated the Jemadar to fire on them; but as he did not see them commit any act of violence, he had no pretext for doing so, in the face of what he believed to be the Brigadier's express order, and which was reiterated by Guffoor Khan, who, with joined hands, besought him not to seize them, saying he could identify them afterwards, which he did.

Had not the Brigadier at that moment been lying insensible, there is no doubt that his orders would have been of a very different and most effectual kind; but he was utterly incapacitated by his wounds. The arrival of the Jemadar's party was immediately reported to Captain Sutherland Orr, yet he never went out or gave any orders to them, although the Brigadier, being totally disabled, had desired him, as second in command, to act in his stead. Most of the mutineers having, as they supposed, accomplished their purpose of killing their commanding officer, issued from the gate of his compound, and attacked the carriage of the Rev. Mr. Murphy, one of the Sekunderabad chaplains, who was returning from an evening drive with Mrs. Murphy, Mrs. Carpenter, and her daughter. Mrs. Murphy received a severe blow and a sabre cut; Mrs. Carpenter was wounded on the head; her daughter's mantle, as well as the railing of the coach-box, were cut, and the party only saved by Mr. Murphy urging on the horses, and by the attention of their cowardly assailants being attracted to Captain M'Kinnon's carriage, which came up at that moment; but Captain M'Kinnon, being fortunately a first-rate whip, lashed his horses to their utmost speed, and burst through the crowd with no other injury than his hat being cut in two, and Mrs. M'Kinnon's bonnet, his own coat, and the hood of the carriage being slashed in several places, none of the shots fired at them having taken effect. He met Mr. Murray, who called out, "There's a jolly row at the Brigadier's;" which ex-

pression naturally gave Captain M'Kinnon a very inadequate idea of what had taken place. As he drove along the road, he ordered three men of his own regiment to give the word for the alarm-bugle to be sounded. They all ran different ways to the Lines, and shortly three bugles were sounding at once. The rioters were distinctly recognised by both Captain M'Kinnon and Mr. Murphy as Sawars, although in undress, their peculiar appearance as well as their regimental swords rendering identification easy. A party of them had been to the house of Captain M'Kinnon, and also to that of the Brigade-Major, with the intention of seizing or killing them; fortunately, both were out.

On hearing the alarm-bugle, the whole of the 3d Infantry flew to arms, many of them throwing their belts over their undress; and the sound of their approach soon cleared the compound of the cowardly troopers. Loud noises being heard in the cavalry lines, Mrs. Mackenzie sent repeatedly to learn the state of affairs. The answer brought was that they were "*triumphing*," and that they were all laughing in the Lines. As the moon rose, it was seen that the Brigadier was soaking in blood. His wife, fearful of wounds on his body, cut and tore off his shirt, and washed his chest, which was untouched, as he had parried most of the blows with his arms, each of which had received four sabre cuts; his thickly wadded coat had also helped to save him. When she found the frightful gash on his head, he feebly said, "That is nothing; let that alone till the doctor comes."

Dr. Whitelock, who had been out for his evening walk when sent for, at last arrived; and, seeing the desperate nature of the wounds, went for further assistance. When he returned, the Brigadier was moved to the bed in the adjoining room, his wounds, no less than ten in number, besides three severe contusions, sewn up and dressed, and the middle finger of the right hand removed.

The whole was not over until past ten.

About nine o'clock, Captain Orr having sent to the Lines for some native officer, Jemadar Muhammad Huseyn at length came. Mrs. Mackenzie went out to the porch, and asked him, "Is the regiment faithful to its salt?" He looked at her without making salaam, or giving any reply. She laid her hand on his arm, and repeated the question, when he turned sulkily away. Captain Orr then brought him to the Brigadier, earnestly entreating the latter, whose wounds were then partly dressed, not to say a word about the apprehension of the culprits.

When the Brigadier addressed a few words to the Jemadar, to the

effect that he did not suppose the whole regiment concerned in so foul a business, but that there were bad men in every corps, who ought to be seized, Captain Orr cagerly interrupted him, beseeching him to say nothing on that score.

When this man withdrew, the dressing of the wounds was completed. Dr. Pritchard arrived from Sekunderabad, and remained the whole night, and the verdict of the medical men was that, with wounds of such a nature, there was *no hope*. The Brigadier himself, however, in the midst of extreme exhaustion, was wonderfully cheerful, and from the first said, "It is all God's doing, and, therefore, right."

At daybreak the next morning, Mrs. Mackenzie went to examine the house and garden. A lump was found on the grass-plot; the verandahs were full of broken chairs, hacked to pieces by sabre-cuts. The place where the Brigadier had been assailed was marked by a pool of blood, and by two pieces of the loose muslin ends of the turban, which was wrapped round his wide-awake hat, the many folds of which had turned the course of the sabres.

This spot she marked; from thence to the door the road was covered with fragments of cotton from his mirzai, or wadded coat, and with several pieces of muslin of different patterns, such as the native coortas or shirts are made of, a pair of native shoes, and the papers of seven ball cavalry cartridges.* The path he had taken was easily tracked by the blood on the pillars, floor, walls, and furniture, and it seemed most wonderful that the infatuated murderers should have stopped short in the next room to that occupied by their victim. As a poor woman who had received kindness from him said, with tears in her eyes, "God hid you, madam, in the hollow of His hand."

Captain M'Kinnon, who had come over as soon as his regiment, as soon as he had posted sentries round the house, with his usual energy and sagacity, immediately took the evidence of his three Havildars, who had been present at the beginning of the affair.

Lieutenant Napier Campbell, commanding the artillery, the moment he heard of the outrage came to the house, but as the rooms were all dark he could not find his way in, and therefore galloped off and got his guns loaded; he returned immediately, and went into the compound of Lieutenant Grant, Adjutant of the 3d Cavalry, and

* These shoes belonged to no one about the house, and with the pieces of muslin and cartridge papers, might have been made use of to identify the criminals, but this was not done, though Mrs. Mackenzie sent them to the Court of Inquiry for that purpose.

asked the guard who were stationed there, what the matter was? One of them began to relate the story to him, when another hit his comrade smartly on the arm and made him desist, thus showing that he was betraying their pre-knowledge of an outbreak that had only just occurred.

Finding Captain Orr still in the Brigadier's house, Mr. Campbell urged him to the obvious duty of going straight to his regiment, and calling over the roll-call to discover the guilty, but Mrs. Orr entreated her husband not to think of such a thing; and Captain Orr rejoined, that *nothing ought to be done for four or five days*.

Accordingly, it was not till after the Jemadar came, that is, *at least three hours after the murderous attack*, that Captain Orr went near the Rissallah. Mr. Grant, returning from Sekunderabad, only waited to put on his uniform, and was on his way to the Lines, when, hearing where Captain Orr happened to be, he turned in to take his orders, and was commanded to remain where he was.

Let us now see what the Rissallah had been doing. In the first place, neither the Rissaldar nor the picket, whom the Brigadier sent for, ever appeared. That there was ample time for them to obey his orders, is proved by the fact that the Sawars who attacked him were on foot, and certainly the picket could have preceded them on horseback. Moreover, the Rissaldar was present at the gate, from whence he could see his men attempting to murder their commanding officer. He never attempted to interfere, but rode instantly to the main Guard, and, accompanied by Jemadars Muhammed Huseyn and Muzár Khan, gave orders for thirty rounds of ammunition to be served out to each of the four swivel-guns. They loaded, and accompanied the whole regiment, who mounted and went on parade without any orders from the European officers. It should not be forgotten that this man, Mir Bauda Huseyn, was a Duffadar in this same regiment, when they mutinied and murdered their Commandant, Major Davies, in 1828, and was also in it when, on a previous occasion, they cut their Rissaldar to pieces. The shout was, "Bring the stacks of grass, and we will burn down the house!" A squadron rode off with the intention of forcing their way into the compound. Jemadar Muhammed Huseyn gave the word, "Three's about!" which was received with a storm of abuse, but eventually obeyed, probably owing to a glimpse of the firm attitude of the infantry. On parade Captain Orr found them. His own account of the matter was, that they were excessively excited, though it was more than three hours after the outrage, and at first it was with difficulty he could obtain a hearing. The first thing they asked him was, whether troops were coming

against them from Sekunderabad, and they got him to promise that none should be sent for. After soothing and coaxing them for upwards of an hour, they professed obedience; and he required, as a proof of it, that they should send a picket of fifty men to the Brigadier's quarters. This they flatly refused to do.

At last he prevailed upon them to consent *as a personal favour to himself*, and rode at their head to the gate of the compound; but there he encountered the Sepahis of the 3d Infantry, who drew across the road, and refused admittance either to him or his troopers. Lieutenant Campbell and some other officers were standing near, among them Captain Clogstoun, second in command of the infantry, who had but lately joined, and who endeavoured to procure admittance for Captain Orr personally; but the Subadar was resolute to keep out every one who belonged to the Rissallah until he received orders from his Commandant. Captain M'Kinnon was therefore sent for to the gate. Captain Orr called out, "You may take away the infantry;" and then added in a low tone, "Keep fifty men at the back of the house," thus showing that his confidence in the troopers was only pretended. Captain M'Kinnon told him plainly that not a trooper should enter, and that if they did, he would move away the whole of the infantry. Captain Orr therefore left them outside, and not a Sawar did enter the gates from that time till they left the cantonment, save three orderlies in immediate attendance on Captain Orr. Nevertheless, in his report to the Resident, Captain S. Orr had the audacity to say, "So convinced was I of the fidelity and good feeling of the Rissallah, that I brought down a picket of fifty men, with which *I relieved the 3d Infantry!*" He re-entered the house, saying, "Everything is quiet, . . . and I've told M'Kinnon to do as he likes about the infantry."

He then sent Mr. Murray on horseback to tell the Resident, who was living at a house belonging to the Minister Nawáb Salar Jung, about one mile and a half off, that everything was quiet, and that there was no need to send for troops to Sekunderabad!

Accordingly, nothing was done, much we may suppose to the amazement of the Rissallah themselves. This is shown by the fact that the Jemadar of the 5th Troop, Shah Mirza Beg by name—who had distinguished himself in action at Sirpoor, but was now confined to his house by fever—expecting, as every soldier would, that the course taken would be immediately to disarm the whole regiment, instructed the men under his command to give up their swords directly they were demanded, adding, that he would set them the example. —

In the meantime, still acting for themselves, which on the part of

armed soldiers in itself constitutes mutiny, the Rissallah had thrown out pickets on the Sekunderabad road. They encountered General Bell's pickets near the camel sheds, at the entrance into Sekunderabad, and turned them back, saying they had been sent from Bolarum, to tell them all was quiet, and they need not come any further! They afterwards stopped a Mussulman servant of Captain Hoseason's, who had been sent in for Dr. Pritchard, and cross-examined him if he had been sent to summon troops. The alarm had been conveyed to Sekunderabad by the Rev. Mr. Murphy, who had driven in with his wife and family immediately after the attack (knowing the Brigadier was wounded, but no particulars), and communicated the affair to Colonel Carpenter, who conveyed the report—a very imperfect one—to the Brigadier commanding the Hyderabad Subsidiary Force, Major-General Bell. That admirable and efficient officer immediately got the troops under arms, expecting an immediate summons from the Resident, without which he had not the power of moving a man.

The first account the Resident received of the matter was one distorted or falsified. Although wholly unaccustomed to military affairs, the Resident was nevertheless practically the Commander-in-chief of the Nizam's Contingent; and as he was never willing to take the advice of either of the Brigadiers at Sekunderabad or Bolarum, it is not astonishing that he became the tool of interested persons, and was led to sanction even such a measure as putting mutineers on duty, which Captain S. Orr, as acting Brigadier, chose to do!

The Brigade-Major found Mr. Bushby the next morning filled with fears of a general rising among all the Mussulmans of India, which "would shake our empire to its foundations," and inveighing furiously against all fanatics (meaning thereby not Mussulmans but Christians), who ought, he said, to be turned out of the Contingent.

On Saturday morning the 22d, General Bell was early at the Residency, near Bolarum; but in spite of his high character, experience, and position, nothing would induce the Resident either to place the matter in his hands or to take his advice. Marvellous to relate, Captain Orr had fully succeeded in convincing the Resident that the Rissallah had nothing to do with the matter! and nothing could persuade him to the contrary. Captain Orr made a most wonderful report to the Resident, suggesting that the Brigadier had provoked the Rissallah, which report he carefully avoided sending through the usual channel, the Brigade-Major, and which the Brigadier afterwards denounced as a tissue of falsehoods. He concludes by referring to the verbal account the Resident had received. This account ought clearly to have been repeated in writing, and placed on record, espe-

cially when made by a junior officer in a matter in which his senior was so deeply concerned. However, the General, in order to sit the truth of at least some of the slanders so freely circulated, carefully read over Brigadier Mackenzie's Order-book, and publicly declared that there was not an order which could be objected to. Captain S. Orr, the day after the outbreak, gave what appears to have been a true account of the issue and cancelling of the orders to Mrs. Mackenzie, which by an unaccountable impulse she immediately committed to writing. It is given at pages 9 and 14. When on this day she found him telling a totally different story, and endeavouring to persuade her, who had seen everything, that the first procession was composed "only of children, mere boys," and that nothing could be better than the temper of the Regiment, she became unwillingly convinced of his deceit, and never saw him again.

The 3d Regiment, Infantry, had been withdrawn from the Brigadier's compound, and it was in vain that Mrs. Mackenzie, utterly disbelieving the assertions so confidently made of the "admirable feeling and good conduct" of the Rissallah, wrote to General Bell and Mr. Bushby for a sufficient guard, so that her husband, who was supposed to be dying, should not be again attacked. The General had not the power to move a man; he could only assure her that his force was ready to march the instant he could obtain permission. Guffoor Khan having informed Mr. Campbell that he could identify at least three of the assassins, Captain Orr sent him to the Rissaldar, when, seeing the very culprits at the Rissaldar's Durbar (council), and knowing that he would be cut to pieces if he spoke the truth, he of course denied every thing; but on his return gave the names to Lieutenant Campbell. That indefatigable officer made them known to the military secretary, and *six hours* were given to the regiment to deliver up the accused. General Bell with great difficulty had at length prevailed upon the Resident to put the question regarding the mutinous state of the regiment to the test, by requiring them to parade without arms, and give up those who could be identified as culprits. They positively refused, and rushed out armed on parade, thus openly mutinying a *second time*. Captain Orr was so far alarmed, that he sent written orders to Lieutenant Campbell to get his guns ready "*very quietly*;" and to Captain M'Kinnon to bring his regiment back to the compound. The 3d Infantry were posted behind the bushes ready to receive the attack, which was expected every moment; and it was thought necessary to move the Brigadier, in spite of his exhausted condition, which made it a hazardous experiment, to the upper story of the new wing, as this could be easily defended against any force. Major Briggs, the mili-

tary secretary, being now quite convinced that the Rissallah was in a state of flagrant mutiny, obtained orders from the Resident for troops from Sekunderabad to move in.

The force consisted of one wing of the 3d Europeans, the 11th Native Infantry, and the horse battery under Captain Scott, the whole commanded by Colonel Whitlock. Captain Orr was with the Resident, whom he had been assuring that "*nothing should be done for four or five days,*" when he heard that a force from Sekunderabad was actually on its way. He jumped up in dismay, saying, "Then I must buckle on my harness," evidently expecting the Rissallah would resist; but they were far from desiring blows, and so soon as they found the Madras troops were approaching, they returned to their lines, and gave up the culprits whom Guffoor Khan had pointed out. One of them struck the Rissaldar, crying, "You Káfir (infidel), to give us up!"—a pretty strong indication of the Rissaldar's complicity.

When this worthy was called upon to surrender the guilty, he denounced two artillerymen, who had, he said, come that morning to his Durbar, saying, that they heard the Rissallah were going to fight for the Faith, and they were willing to join them. He declined their offer of service, saying the Rissallah did not require help. Mr. Campbell requested he would come and identify them. He only pointed out one; but the other was detected, and both were marched off amid the jeers of their comrades. Mr. Campbell inquired, "How is it, Rissaldar Sahib, that you can point out these men whom you never saw but once, and yet you cannot name one of your own men whom you know perfectly?" The crafty Rissaldar had not a word to say for himself.

On the arrival of the force, Captain Orr galloped up to Colonel Whitlock, saying, "You are not wanted here, sir; everything is quite quiet."—"Who commands the cantonment?" was the answer. "I do." And without vouchsafing any reply the Colonel rode off to the Resident, most unfortunately, for he then received orders to do nothing! General Bell afterwards told the Resident plainly that an opportunity had been lost of giving an excellent lesson, not only to the Rissallah, but to the whole Army, of which he considered they stood in great need.

Captain Orr then entered the Brigadier's compound with two orderlies at his back (the only Sawars that were ever brought within the gates), and was greatly irritated at finding the infantry ready (and willing) to meet his mutineers. "It looked as if they expected an attack," said he. "So every one did," was the answer.

The next morning (Sunday) Colonel Whitlock marched the whole of his force close up to the Rissallah lines, doubtless with a secret hope that they might give him an excuse for treating them according to their deserts; but so far from their courage equalling their ferocity and insubordination, it was credibly reported that a goodly number of these heroes fled for shelter to the haystacks, underneath which they ensconced themselves. Captain Orr afterwards talked to his men, who assured him in the most plausible way, that they would never rest until every one among them who had blackened their faces was discovered. The degree of credence to be given to their assurances may be estimated by the fact, that upwards of four hundred were present, and not one could be named as having exerted himself in any wise except on the side of mutiny, save in the 5th troop. Sir Bilund Khan, the disguised Sawar, whom Captain Orr himself recognised as taking part in the first procession, who was therefore guilty of mutinous disobedience of orders, and of threatening to strike his commanding officer, was not put in arrest by Captain Orr until Sunday evening, and then on Mr. Campbell's remonstrance. After the troops arrived from Sekunderabad the Rissallah gave up six persons, but Guffoor Khan, the Sawar who had pointed out three of the worst, never ventured to go near the lines from that day.

The remainder of Sunday passed over quietly, but with one omission, which a sense of our national dignity, putting all religious considerations out of the question, ought imperatively to have forbidden. "*No public worship* took place that day;" the mutineers thus having the satisfaction of putting a stop to all the religious observances of their officers. Mr. Murphy's unwillingness to venture into Bolarum ought to have been no impediment, for one service on every Sunday, and, in the absence of a chaplain, *both* were always read by the Brigadier or Brigade-Major; and had the acting authorities had a befitting sense of British honour, it would have been performed as usual.

Monday, 24th September, passed over quietly until towards evening, when two men, one a Jemadar of Artillery, went to Lieutenant Campbell with the information that a large force was coming from the city to assist the Rissallah, and that orders had been received in a neighbouring village from the Nizam that supplies should be prepared for them.

He took the narrators at once to the Brigade-Major; and this officer carried them to the Resident, as the person who, from the knowledge of the character of the Minister and of all that goes on in the city, which one in his responsible position is expected to possess,

would naturally be the most competent to decide upon its truth or falsehood.

Mr. Campbell likewise communicated all he knew to Mr. Bushby, expressing his disbelief of the story; yet, at the same time, acknowledging that the Resident alone had the means of judging of its probability.

The village where the orders were reported to have been received was within ten minutes' ride of Mr. Bushby's residence! The rumour was communicated to General Bell, who, on finding the Resident had made up his mind to treat it as authentic information, immediately recalled the force from Bokum, so as to have his troops in hand ready to move in any direction.

Lieutenant Campbell, with his six guns and thirty-six gunners, had, of course, placed himself under Colonel Whitlock's orders from the time of his arrival, and was encamped with his force on the open plain.

The Colonel, a man of much quaint humour, struck with the absurdity of leaving the guns wholly unprotected, took leave of Mr. Campbell with the significant advice: "*Good-bye, take care of yourself.*"

The latter immediately galloped off to the Resident to get orders, and found to his horror that, although apparently believing that troops from the city were coming to aid and abet the Rissallah, Mr. Bushby had allowed Captain Orr to place pickets of Sawars all round the cantonments, and over the guns! In vain Mr. Campbell remonstrated, pointing out that either there was no cause for alarm, or the Rissallah were the foes to be guarded against; but it was useless, so that the luckless artillery officer spent the night on a chair in the midst of his guns, revolving plans for spiking them before the last of his six-and-thirty men should be cut down.

About 10 o'clock p.m. Mr. Campbell brought a message from Colonel Whitlock to Mrs. Mackenzie, recommending strongly that, since protection was thus withdrawn, her husband should be moved into Sekunderabad. The first thing to be done was to send to ascertain from Dr. Whitlock, if this were possible; and he at once put a veto on moving him a distance of between six and seven miles, but said that in case of necessity he might be moved to the Bolarum Residency, less than two miles distant. Mrs. Mackenzie, therefore, wrote to Mr. Bushby as the only person from whom authentic information could be expected, asking whether he considered it necessary to move, and in that case if they might come to the Residency. In reply, he said that his own house, and not the Brigadier's, was threatened, and

that he thought she might remain where she was, until he sent the carriage for her. Captain Clogstoun at once pointed out that if there was danger, it was to the Brigadier, and not to Mr. Rushby, as if troops from the city were coming, it was for revenge, and not in order to knock their heads against the Residency. The 3d Infantry was ordered up to the latter spot; and as the Brigadier's house was thus left at the mercy of the Rissallah, Mrs. Mackenzie thought it safest to send all the young ladies into Sekunderabad, save a young friend who remained with her. The Aga's wife behaved nobly as ever. When told it was necessary she should go, she quietly assented, made her preparations, and was ready with her old mother in a few minutes. She asked the Aga if he were going. "No," he answered, "how can I leave my chief?" and without the least fuss or parade she bade him farewell, though she supposed the whole party left in imminent danger. The fugitives slipped out at the back door, walked to Mr. Campbell's house, and drove in from thence. Great was the tumult at Sekunderabad—the troops under arms the whole night, and the barracks filled with ladies and children roused out of their sleep. The Resident sent his wife and daughter to take refuge at General Bell's; but even in this emergency nothing would induce him to place the matter in the General's hands, or to take his advice.

Not long after, the Resident's carriage arrived for the use of the Brigadier; then a note from Mr. Bushby, saying that he would send the whole force, and come himself; and then an urgent message from Mr. Campbell that the troops were ordered to move at once to the Residency, and that, therefore, the Brigadier should be moved there immediately. It now became necessary to communicate the affair to Brigadier Mackenzie. His wife did so in a few words. He asked "on what authority the report was believed?"—"A baniah" (shop-keeper)—"He ought to be flogged for spreading such nonsense!—Are any of the 3d Infantry here?"—"Yes."—"That's enough; I won't move,"—and thus settled the matter in two minutes. He was, however, greatly disturbed when he heard that Mr. Bushby was coming, and said several times, "That is very wrong. It is a great sign of weakness. Tell Mr. Bushby not to come, and that I am not going to Sekunderabad." But it was too late, for just after, about three o'clock A.M., the Resident and Mrs. M'Kinnon, almost the only lady left in cantonment (Mrs. Orr and her children having fled with the rest), arrived at the Brigadier's house. The ladies went to bed, the officers slept on chairs and couches, and the Resident asked for a sword, and sat up, till daylight alleviated his anxiety. Captain M'Kinnon refused to move his regiment to the Residency without

written orders from Mr. Bushby, and thus the 3d Infantry remained where they were.

When the matter was inquired into, it appeared that the village authorities had received the usual order to supply the troops *under Colonel Whillock* with provisions, firewood, etc., and that there was no other foundation for the report. Five minutes' investigation on the spot would have cleared up the whole matter. The Nawáb Salar Jung, a man of remarkable talent and character, was naturally much annoyed at the undeserved want of confidence in him which the Resident had displayed, and inquired if he thought such a thing could happen without his sending information of it?

The Nizam, also, looked upon the Resident's manifest distrust and *de facto* accusation of treachery as an insult. Practically it was accusing this Prince of making war against the British Government,—a charge involving his ruin, and which, moreover, might have stirred up some of the fanatical tribes over whom he has no real control to make a reality of what was only a nightmare. Imagine our Ambassador at Vienna taking to his heels on a report that the Emperor was sending a band of Crousts to sack the Embassy.

A Court of Inquiry into the late mutiny was ordered to assemble at Bolarum on the 25th of September. The Resident at first asked General Bell to be President. He replied that of course he would be so if the Court was to inquire into Brigadier Mackenzie's conduct, but that otherwise it was unnecessary; and on the Resident informing him that this was no part of the business of the Court, he declined, as he was about leaving for Pegu. Captain M'Kinnon and Lieutenant Campbell were named as members, but withdrawn, as their evidence was required; but the appointment of three officers, under the Brigadier's command, proved the Resident's assertion to be true, that no inquiry into the Brigadier's acts *could be legally* undertaken by the Court. It was composed of Major Cuthbert Davidson, Assistant to the Resident, who had formerly been Commandant of this very mutinous Rissallah; Major Bryce, Artillery; Captain Clogstoun; and Major Pritchard, Judge-Advocate. Its proceedings were secret, which called forth vehement animadversions from the press, who were curious to know what was being done; but Major Davidson's alleged reason was, that had it been an open Court, every man's hand would have been at his neighbour's throat, and gossip, recrimination, and party-spirit would have gone to very undesirable lengths; *but this by no means justified withholding the proceedings—relating as they did, entirely to men under his command—from Brigadier Mackenzie himself, especially as they turned out to be the grounds on which that*

officer was blamed by the Supreme Government. Of from ten to sixteen prisoners in arrest, several were actually kept in the lines, surrounded by their friends, for nearly a week; and when the Brigadier urged that, for the sake of safe custody and isolation, they should be made over to the Sekunderabad force, Mr. Bushby negatived this reasonable proposition.

General Bell expressed his opinion that at least eighty to a hundred ought to have been placed in confinement, that being the lowest estimate of the number that attacked the carriages (more having been at that moment inside the compound), and that the whole regiment ought to have been disarmed.

The chief blame that appears really attached to the Court was their unsophisticated way of setting to work; Major Davidson preaching to the native officers, as a body, on the necessity of clearing their honour by revealing all they knew, whereas every man was too much afraid of his comrades to reveal anything, even if willing to do so; and instead of encouraging the prisoners to give evidence, they were gravely cautioned against saying anything to criminate themselves, forgetting that native cunning and combination were more than a match for the Court, without throwing an additional shield of English formalities around the culprits. Much more would also have been elicited had the witnesses been desired to state all they knew, instead of merely being required to answer a few questions. But the work of the Court was *professedly* only preliminary to future trials, and it was probably on this ground that they steadily refused even to hear the testimony of the ladies who were eye-witnesses.

Captain S. Orr has since been accused (and by one man at least who offers to prove it on oath, and gives the names of others as witnesses to the same fact) of having commanded the Rissallah to give as little evidence as possible—to tell nothing that they could help. Captain Orr expected his Regiment would of course be disbanded, and knowing that he himself was in a most precarious position, every one believing that he would lose his commission. He thought that the Brigadier was dying, and therefore took advantage (being Acting Brigadier) to make up the best story he could. This the Resident reported to the Governor-General, and, having told the wrong story, had not the manliness to confess he had been deceived.

On the 9th of October the Brigadier, at the risk of his life, dictated a statement to Major Davidson and Major Pritchard, but he paid dearly for this exertion by excessive subsequent exhaustion. Of course, he could only speak of his endeavours to quell the incipient mutiny, and of the subsequent attack upon him, being ignorant of

many important facts that have since been discovered; and so anxious was he not to injure Captain S. Orr, that he made no mention of his leaving him to face the mutineers alone, or of his remaining inactive afterwards. It was only when it became necessary to denounce misrepresentations that he made known those painful facts. He resumed command of cantonments on the 10th, and immediately sent away the cavalry picket which Captain Orr had posted outside his gate, determined that he would have no hand in placing mutineers on duty. His motive for resuming command before he was even out of danger was chiefly that he might have a right to demand a copy of the Report made by Captain S. Orr to the Resident, and an opportunity of refuting the statements which had been put forth in it.* This he did shortly after, officially charging Captain S. Orr with falsehood, of which heavy charge no notice has ever been taken. Of course the Resident, as the superior military authority, ought to have ordered the accused to be placed under arrest and brought to trial. The Brigadier might have done the former, but, aware of the cabal against him, he chose to follow the most moderate course consistent with public duty.

The proceedings of the Court of Inquiry were not communicated either to General Bell or to Brigadier Mackenzie, though it might have been supposed that the Resident would have gladly obtained the opinion of either officer on a purely military affair.

But so far was the hush-a-by system carried, that the Resident expressed his displeasure at those who spoke of the cavalry as "mutineers," one of the chaplains was threatened "by a person in authority" with being handed up to Government for venturing to use this term in a private note to an officer, and Mrs. Bushby, the wife of the Resident, sent a message through an officer to the Brigadier's wife, who was making every exertion to trace out the guilty and make known the truth, begging her to keep quiet and not to speak on the subject.

It would be difficult, however, to evade the dilemma. If the Rissallah was not in a state of mutiny, why did not their officers dare to go near them?

The Resident himself designated the assassins as "certain parties apparently belonging to the Bolarum cantonment!"

The Hiydu religious service of the Dusserah fell on the 12th of October, and the Hindus of the force had already obtained their usual ten days' leave, when they unanimously volunteered to renounce it, both infantry and artillery stating that they could not think of avail-

* To this Report the Resident, in defiance of all discipline, had replied to Captain S. Orr, the junior officer, blaming the proceedings of the Brigadier!

ing themselves of it, "as the Brigadier would not be safe." Men do not give up at once an indulgence and the observance of religious rites without some strong reason, and the behaviour of the 3d Infantry and Artillery shows very clearly their opinion of the conduct and temper of the Rissallah. The Brigadier thanked them for their fidelity and zeal; but to avoid coming into collision with the Resident, he thought it advisable to use the term "disgraceful riots," when speaking of the attempt on his own life; for which the Madras papers fell foul of him as if *he* wished to deny there had been a mutiny!

Not only did the officers of the Rissallah deny that there had been any mutiny, and talk of the regiment being as "quiet as lambs," but Captain S. Orr asked one of the ladies who was wounded what could make her think the assailants were Sawars? (!!!)

The natives openly said the authorities were afraid to discover too much or to arrest any more of the culprits, and this idea was confirmed by the Resident suddenly ordering the mutinous regiment to Aurangabad, the most desirable station in the Nizam's dominions, on account of the cheapness of provender. It may be asked, if they were not in mutiny, why were they sent away, having only arrived a few months previously? This step was taken without even the knowledge of General Bell or Brigadier Mackenzie. The Rissallah showed some disinclination to march without their prisoners, some of them even publicly declaring that they would not do so; but they did not venture on any attempt at releasing them, and took their departure on the 1st of November, one troop being left behind till the arrival of the 2d Cavalry. So strong was the indignation expressed by the latter regiment, that the officers considered it fortunate that they did not meet the 3d Rissallah on the road, as they would certainly have come to blows with them for having disgraced the mounted branch of the service. Up to this time the Rissaldar was received in the most friendly manner by Captain Orr, and, we believe, by the Resident. It is said that he went to the Residency to ask that the prisoners might be permitted to accompany the regiment, but of course this cannot be proved. It is certain that the Rissallah did not start until about two hours after the time appointed, nor until the trumpets had sounded five or six times instead of twice, as usual. *Captain Orr was not present*, but joined the regiment after they had started!!

In every irregular cavalry regiment there are a certain number of Shuter Sawars, or troopers mounted on camels, each of which carries a brass swivel-gun (or zamburak). In the Nizam's cavalry each regiment has five; and Mrs. Mackenzie being informed that one of these men, belonging to the 3d Rissallah, ~~was~~ had been well known to

the Brigadier at Elichpoor, and had received much kindness at his hands, could prove that the Rissaldar had served ~~but~~ ammunition to the four Shuter Sawars, who were present the night of the mutiny, informed Major Davidson of the fact. The man was accordingly sent ~~for~~ to the Residency, his errand being of course guessed, if not positively known to the whole regiment, and consequently he would prove nothing, knew nothing, could remember nothing. The Brigadier, however, although still confined to bed in a helpless condition, insisted on his being detained as one of the witnesses, and a few days after the Rissallah left for Aurangabad (November 5th), Mrs. Mackenzie having sent word that she would see him, he came late one evening. Aga Muhammad, whom he knew, was the only person present, and the interview lasted more than two hours.

At first he would tell nothing. He was asked, "Who ordered the regiment to mount the night of the 21st of September?"—"Nobody."

"Who ordered you to load?"—"Nobody."

"Where was the ammunition kept?" asked the Aga.—"In the main guard."

"Then how did you get it?"—"I took it."

"That is nonsense; the guard would not give it to you without orders."—(Doggedly.) "We took it."

"I see you will tell nothing; it is of no consequence to me whether you do or not; it is your affair, not mine. Why did you come? Who ordered the regiment to get under arms?"—"Nobody: the whole Rissallah was ready, so I also got ready."

"Ah! then I see the Rissaldar was right: he had no share in it. It was the fault of the men; and, of course, as none of them will tell anything, they are equally guilty." So the questioner took the candle, went away to the table, and began to write.

After a short interval, during which the witness looked extremely discontented, leaning against the window, and shifting from one foot to the other, he suddenly turned to Aga Sahib, and said,—

"The Rissaldar *was* present when the ammunition ~~was~~ served out; and also Jemadar Muhammad Husein and Jemadar Musáfir Khan."

"Were they on foot or horseback?"—"They were all on horseback."

"Was it light or dark?"—"Light enough to see every man's face."

Therefore it must have been instantly after the attack, for all the lamps were lit before the Brigadier reached his family.

Wishing to ascertain this point clearly, he was asked,—

"Was it light inside the guard-house?"—"It was a little dark, but we could see by opening the windows."

"Did you see Duffadar Nizam ud Din come to call the Rissaldar?"
—"Yes."

"What did he say?"—"I saw him come on his horse and call the Rissaldar, whose house is close to mine, and say, 'The Brigadier Sahib calls you: come quickly; there is an outbreak (balwá) at the Brigadier's bungalow.' The Rissaldar went into his house to dress, mounted, and rode away. Guffoor Khan came soon after Nizam ud Din. I heard him say, 'The Brigadier is wounded.'"

"Did you know of the order forbidding the procession on Sunday?"
—"Yes."

"Were the Sawars angry at it?"—"I don't know. I am a Suni."

"Then you did not care about stopping the Muharram?"—"No. I am a Suni."

"Are there many Sunis in the Rissallah?"—"A great many: only about thirty Shiahs."

"But in the Dakhun do not many Sunis join in the Muharram?"

"Yes; but they do not beat their breasts for Hasan and Husein" (the very purpose of the fast).

"Then they agree?"—"No; the Sunis say the Shiahs' religion is bad, and *vice versa*."

"What is the Rissaldar?"—"A Shiah."

"And what is Jemadar Muhammad Husein?"—"A Suni; but he made two flags and two *tázias*" (*biers*).

"How are orders made known to the regiment?"—"The Captain Sahib tells them to the Rissaldar, and he to the Jemadars, and they to the Duffadars. They do not tell them to the troopers."

"Did you know the first order was a mistake?"—"No."

"When did you hear of the second order?"—"On Saturday night" (that is, on Friday night, as the Muhammadan reckons his day from sunset).

"Before or after the Brigadier was wounded?"—"After."

"Are you quite sure of that?"—"Quite sure."

"When did you load?"—"After the ammunition was served out we mounted, and when we mounted, the Rissaldar ordered us to load."

"Was the whole regiment present?"—"There may have been twenty less."

"Was it drawn up in troops, each with its Jemadar, or was it in confusion?"—"Each troop by itself, with its officers."

"How long did they stay on parade?"—"Till Captain Orr came. Captain Orr talked to them for two hours before they went in."

"Would it have been dangerous for Mr. Murray and the other officers to go to the lines?"—"I do not know."

"Would the Sawars have killed them?"—"I do not know."

"When did the Shuter Sawars draw the charge of their guns?"—"On Saturday morning."

"Did they load again afterwards?"—"No; not again."

"How many rounds were served out?"—"Twenty-seven."

"Who ordered you to mount?"—"It was not necessary to give an order: the Rissaldar and Jemadars were present, so the whole regiment got ready, and I also did so."

This amount of evidence was not obtained without much difficulty. It was written down, and he was afterwards asked, sentence by sentence, is this what you mean to say?

On going, he begged to be taken out by a back way, lest the Sawars should know where he had been, and cross-question him.

Never did party spirit run higher than in the present instance. Even when the Brigadier's recovery was considered hopeless (and it was four months before he could be considered convalescent) he was assailed on all sides; accused of "fanaticism," of "preaching to the Sawars," of "interfering with their religion!" and a Roman Catholic paper gravely asserted that some years ago he had pulled down either a Muhammadan mosque or a Hindu temple, they were not quite sure which! and, ludicrously enough, he whose interest it was that everything should be thoroughly sifted and known, was attacked by some of the papers as a party to the hushing-up system, which he was opposing with all his might.

The flags were said to have been broken and trampled on; and the act (which was wholly imaginary) was likened to trampling on the Host in a Roman Catholic country, and to pulling the pall off a coffin in a Protestant one, whereas it would have been much more like confiscating a mince-pie or a branch of holly at Christmas.

The cuckoo cry of "interference with the procession" could only be repeated by those who were totally ignorant of a soldier's duty. His military oath binds him as much to enforce obedience to lawful authority as to yield it; and in risking his life in so doing, he is fulfilling a plain duty to God and his country.

Those who blamed him for enforcing obedience unarmed, and without even a stick in his hand, would certainly have been the first to do so, had he tamely suffered his orders to be set at defiance, for fear of the danger of upholding them.

But if the outbreak of malice was remarkable, the proofs of sympathy, esteem, and brotherly affection which poured upon him from all

quarters were no less so, and verified the Divine proverb, that, "there is a friend that sticketh closer than a brother." When, lying maimed and helpless, totally unable even to be informed of the attacks made on him, one friend after another stood gallantly forward to bear testimony to his character, and to his extraordinary influence among natives of all classes, "his peculiar facility," as one expressed it, of drawing their hearts to him.

Curiously enough, a strong testimony to the estimation in which the Brigadier is held by natives has been unwittingly rendered by two Mussulmans of rank, one of them a Nawab in the Dekkan, the other an Afghan, who, since the attack, have both committed their families to his charge as guardian, supposing themselves to be near death.

The Nizam, one of the most bigoted Mussulmans and thorough haters of the British in India, when he was informed of the murderous outbreak, at once pronounced sentence, "Yih Dîn ka kisah nahîn : máro;" i.e., "This is no religious quarrel: slay them,"—i.e., the mutineers. The old Mir Adal, or Chief Judge of Berár, a Hadji and Molewi of great learning, cordially agreed with the Vazir Nawáb Salar Jung (himself a Shiah), that this was no religious quarrel, but pure sheitan ka kisah—"a work of the devil;" and yet, in spite of this decisive testimony, European officers were found to re-echo the cry of fanaticism, "interference with the religion of the natives," etc., etc., as if they knew better than the most bigoted Mussulmans!

So far was this spirit carried, that when an intimate friend wrote to one of the newspapers, pointing out that a man who had raised and organized a regiment composed of Sikhs, Afghans, Rajputs, and other Hindustanis, and who was daily receiving the most affectionate inquiries (even by electric telegraph) from natives of all creeds, and from all parts of India, could scarcely be suspected of interfering with their religion; stating, that from personal acquaintance with the Brigadier, he knew that his sense of military duty, as well as his religious principles, combined to forbid anything of the sort, and quoting the words of an order, in which, on the occasion of the first and only quarrel between the Sikhs and Afghans of the regiment he raised and disciplined (the 4th Sikhs, who afterwards distinguished themselves in Burmah and before Delhi), he declared that the State did not "require eight hundred Pandits, Mullahs, or Granthis, but eight hundred soldiers; and that whosoever annoyed or interfered with his neighbour on account of his religion, be he Christian, Sikh, Mussulman, or Hindu, was guilty of a high military offence," a contemporary

replied to this array of incontrovertible testimony, that the order only proved that the Brigadier was not a fanatic six years ago! Well did the *Friend of India* observe:—

“An extreme party on one side declares Brigadier Mackenzie a mad fanatic, and implies that the mutineers were rather in the right than otherwise. An extreme party, on the other hand, holds that he committed no act likely to irritate his men, and that the mutineers ought to have been summarily blown from cannon. The Indian public, distrusting both, consider the Rissallah guilty, and the Brigadier ‘indiscreet.’ In the latter half of that verdict we confess ourselves wholly unable to concur. Every new fact which has appeared amid the cloud of letters, narratives, and anecdotes, tends, in our judgment, to justify our original verdict of acquittal. The question, it must be remembered, is not as to the general character of Brigadier Mackenzie. It is nothing to Government if he be a Pharisee or Freethinker, Puritan by conviction or half-Hinduised by native predilections. Vague talk about fanatics, Puritans, and officers righteous over much, may therefore be dismissed with the contempt it deserves. The point at issue is, whether Brigadier Mackenzie did or did not so outrage the religious prejudices of his soldiers as to extenuate the military crime of mutiny. We hold that he did not. To justify our belief let us examine the specific charges brought against him by his foes. It is affirmed first, that he supported a Christian convert from Islam in his own compound; secondly, that he issued an order prohibiting a Mussulman procession on the day of the great Mussulman festival; thirdly, that when that order was disobeyed, he not only behaved with undue violence, but insulted the procession, as Mussulmans, by various acts of indignity. The first charge we may dismiss in a very few words. An officer has a right to support anybody he pleases, without distinction of creed. If he chooses to have Christian servants, it is not the Christian Government of India which will reprimand that preference. The fact that the man was a convert, matters nothing. Most Christians in India are converts, and so are no small proportion of Mussulmans. Is an officer never to protect a Hindu, who has become a Mussulman, because ‘deference should be paid to the religious prejudices of Hindus?’ Or is the creed of our subjects to receive privileges denied to the religion of the dominant race? The assertion that the convert was also a missionary, even if correct, makes no difference. The officer himself was not a missionary, and that is the only abstinence required of him. Is every officer to be cashiered who gives house-room to a missionary friend, and renders hospitality and military obedience incompatible virtues? So far as this charge

is concerned, Brigadier Mackenzie did nothing beyond what every British officer is justified in doing. The second charge may be disproved by a reference to facts already published by a Madras contemporary. It was the custom of the station to forbid processions passing down the main streets, as we believe it is also of most large stations in Bengal. In accordance with this custom, Brigadier Mackenzie issued an order, stating, 'No processions, music, or noise will be allowed on any account whatever, from twelve o'clock Saturday night to twelve o'clock on Sunday night.' The Sunday, unfortunately, was the great day of the Muharram. The instant the Brigadier became aware of this fact he issued a second order. We quote it at length, as the second charge depends upon its wording :

" 'With reference to Paragraph 3 of Cantonment Orders of yesterday's date, it having been brought to the notice of the Brigadier commanding, that Sunday next is the only day on which the Muharram processions can take place, he is pleased to permit them. 'Officers commanding corps, etc., will, however, distinctly explain to their native officers and men, that all processions, music, and lights, during to-night and to-morrow, must be confined to the lines of their respective corps; they are not permitted to move out to the bazaars or along the roads.

" '2. In moving out with the Taboots and Punjabs on Sunday, the procession will proceed by the shortest road out of the cantonment.

" '3. The cavalry across the Tank by Dr. Riddell's house, and by the Coompillay road.

" '4. The artillery by the rear road to Bowunpally, at the back of the bazaar.

" '5. The 3d Infantry by the front of the lines across the general parade ground, and thus to the Tank.

" '6. The superintendent of police is directed to make arrangements that no disturbance takes place while the bazaar processions are in cantonment.

" '7. The native officer of the day will be responsible that no procession, etc., belonging to corps, move into the bazaar, or on any of the cantonment public roads during the night.'

" The 'shortest road' was not the ordinary road, but the men assured Captain Orr, their commandant, that they were perfectly satisfied. The charge, therefore, is reduced to this, that Brigadier Mackenzie issued an ordinary police regulation, such as Mr. Cockburn issues every week in Calcutta, to prevent a religious procession

interfering with the comfort of citizens of another creed. If this simple act is construed into an outrage upon Muhammadanism, where are we to stop? Impartial legislation will speedily become impossible, and we must recur at once to the Koran as the sole guide to legislative action.

"Lastly, as to the conduct of the Brigadier when face to face with the rioters. The mutiny was no sudden burst of outraged feeling. It was not even a simple attempt to murder an officer, who, for some unknown reason, had become unpopular. That crime might have been expiated by the execution of its perpetrators. But the outbreak was directed against every European in the station, women as well as men, and was only not a massacre, because those attacked fled, as they would have done from any other wild beasts. Moreover, the whole Rissallah were guilty, and that in an almost equal degree. They posted videttes along the road to Sekunderabad. They refused to deliver up the criminals, and finally they yielded, not to returning reason, or to a sense of discipline, clouded by momentary excitement, but in consequence of a report that the Europeans were on the march. We submit, then, that Brigadier Mackenzie not only did not outrage the feelings of his Mussulman soldiers, but was not guilty even of 'indiscretion.' He was the victim of a planned and deliberate mutiny, for which disbanding is far too light a punishment. The entire Rissallah ought to have been tried, instead of the perpetrators of the assault, and the sentence of the court martial carried out, even if it involved transportation or death *en masse*.

"We need scarcely say that our correspondent 'Amicus' has misunderstood the 'unpopularity' we ascribed to Brigadier Mackenzie: it is among officers, not men, that he is unpopular.

"He is a 'fanatic'; that is, one who really believes what other men pretend to believe. Such a character is seldom popular among soldiers, and although Brigadier Mackenzie has many warm friends, he has also many bitter enemies. To this feeling we must trace the most melancholy feature of the affair. It is, we believe, the first time in which open mutiny has been EXTENUATED BY ENGLISH OFFICERS, DEFENDED AND PALLIATED BY AN ENGLISH PRESS."

Four months after the affair the decision of Government was promulgated without any communication having been made to the Brigadier, any question being put to him, any hint given that blame was attached to him, or any portion of the evidence laid before Government—none of which was taken on oath—having been made known to him. General Bell had been in Calcutta most anxious to express his opinion on the subject to the Governor-General, but Lord Dalhousie had

allowed him no opportunity of doing so. The only person whom the Governor-General seems to have consulted on the matter was Major Cuthbert Davidson, 1st Assistant of Hyderabad, who had formerly commanded the mutinous Rissallah, and who went to meet his Lordship on the coast.

Brigadier Mackenzie was not informed that such points of his conduct were objected to; he was not asked if the account given was true, nor were his reasons demanded for acting as he was said to have done. The information laid before Government having been apparently very incomplete and inaccurate, there were several mistakes in their decision, which could not have occurred had the proceedings been made known to the Brigadier. His orders were pronounced, "unusually stringent," whereas they were *verbatim those of previous years*, with the exception of the clause in the first order, which the Government justly characterized as not only "unusual but objectionable, in that it put forward the Muharram in direct conflict with the Christian Sabbath." Brigadier Mackenzie himself felt that the wording of the order was injudicious, and might be misconstrued; but as he had given directions to his Brigade-Major on this, as on every other occasion of native religious festivals, to issue the usual orders in accordance with precedent and the regulations of the Government, he naturally supposed that he had been obeyed. He determined, however, to inquire into the matter, and afterwards blamed himself for the delay which took place in doing so, which, however, arose from the omission of the Brigade-Major on that particular day to wait on the Brigadier with the usual reports. In the meantime the Brigadier cancelled this order, which, therefore, could not possibly have had anything to do in inflaming the minds of the Muhamnadaus, and substituted another, to which no objection has ever been made, and with which the mutinous regiment, through the mouth of their commandant, declared themselves well pleased.

The General Order does justice to the moderation shown by the Brigadier in sending several messengers, and mentions that it was only when "no obedience was paid him," and when he was "met with shouts of defiance," that he seized the flags (not "standards"). But it omits to remark that he was *successful* in enforcing his orders. It attributes the outrage to the Brigadier's "own act, in rushing from the compound into the midst of a Mussulman rabble roused by the excitement of the Muharram, and there seizing their standards, and coming into personal conflict with them;" and it characterizes this as an "intemperate act," but without pointing out what course ought to have been pursued.

Had the Brigadier been informed that his conduct in this particular was considered blameable by Government, he could have given his reasons for deliberately acting as he did, and the Governor-General in Council could then have decided officially, whether in such circumstances an officer ought to permit mutinous disobedience of orders for fear of the consequences of upholding the authority of Government; or whether it would have been a more temperate act to have enforced obedience at the point of the bayonet. He would also have had an opportunity of bringing forward proof that his whole manner and behaviour were calm and unimpassioned: he did not "rush" out, he walked out quietly; he reasoned with the mob—he gave them the choice of departing or giving up their flags; he repeatedly refused to let the infantry fire, and he maintained his rightful authority without bloodshed. He could also have proved that neither the Resident nor Captain S. Orr communicated to him those signs of the mutinous disposition of the Rissallah with which they were acquainted, and the knowledge of which would have prepared him for the attack, and enabled him to meet it differently. Forewarned, he would have been forearmed. Moreover, there was every reason to believe that the mutiny was preconcerted some days before; and if so, the Brigadier's act in endeavouring to stop the first demonstrations of it of which he was aware, could by no possibility be "the immediate and real cause of it." It is also to be observed, the Brigadier's conduct had not been the subject of inquiry by any competent authority. General Bell was assured by the Resident that the object of the Court was *not to inquire into the Brigadier's acts*. Indeed, the Court, being almost entirely composed of his juniors and of officers under his command, was incompetent to enter upon such inquiry. It was said to be merely a preliminary measure, to afford ground for subsequent trials. If the proceedings of the Court related to the conduct of men under Brigadier Mackenzie's command, he had a right to see them; if, incompetent as it was, they in anywise related to his conduct, he had a still stronger right to know what was alleged against him.

His Lordship in Council proceeded to say, "that this was not the first time that the Hyderabad Cavalry had been guilty of violence towards their European officers."

On Captain Macintyre, the Coramandant of the 2d Rissallah, reading the general order to his men, the Rissaldar, a fine old soldier, rose, and respectfully said, "I have an observation to make. The Hyderabad Cavalry, as a body, has never been faithless to its salt, it is only the 3d Rissallah. The first time they cut their Rissaldar (my own kinsman) to pieces; the next they murdered Major Davies; and

Now they have tried to assassinate the Brigadier; but it has *always* been the 3d Rissallah, and *not* the Hyderabad Cavalry." The Rissaldar addressed a petition to Government to this effect, which the Brigadier, pleased with the sensitiveness shown by the regiment to an imputation on their military honour, as well as with their protestations of fidelity and loyalty, forwarded to the Resident, who, however, refused to make it known to the Supreme Government.

The native officers of the Rissallah were "dealt with as responsible for its conduct," and for "not having controlled their men;" for "having tolerated, if they did not abet, the mutiny"—"for having done all they could to screen their men from blame or punishment, and for having lent no assistance whatever to the authorities in their attempt to discover" the culprits. They were to be dismissed. But it is to be remarked, that almost all of the charges here brought against the native officers apply to their Commandant, yet he was only reprimanded. He was certainly "responsible for the conduct of the Rissallah." He did not control the men when they burst into open mutiny, nor attempt to do so for three hours afterwards; he concealed his knowledge of the unsatisfactory state of the regiment; he did not arrest the trooper who, under his own eyes, had been guilty of mutinous disobedience of orders until obliged to do so two days after; and up to the date of his leaving Bolarum he "did all he could to screen his men from blame or punishment," by maintaining to the last that there had been *no mutiny!* Two native officers were excepted. One was Shah Mirza Beg, whose conduct was loyal, who was made Rissaldar. "Jemadar Muzafir Khan was also excepted, he having invited the interposition of the European officers."

This was simply a mistake, Muzafir Khan never having done anything of the sort, although he may have told Major Davidson that he had done so. It is said that the day after the first mutiny Major Davidson sent for this man, whom he had known when commandant of this very regiment, and he may have rendered some secret services, as the Resident publicly thanked Major Davidson for having, by his influence with his old regiment, broken the combination amongst them; but it is certain that he never came near the Brigadier's house, where the European officers remained for at least three hours after the occurrence; and it is equally certain that Jemadar Muhammad Hussein did come, and did urge Captain Orr to go to the regiment. No one ever heard of Muzafir Khan's supposed service until the appearance of the General Order; and the second in command and the adjutant of the Rissallah, as well as the Resident, all declared they knew nothing of it. But when Mrs. Mackenzie asked the Resident that

from her personal knowledge she could testify that Muzafir Khan never came, and that Muhammad Husein did so, and that this could be proved by every person in or about the house that night, his reply was, "But after all it is a matter of *no consequence*."

The dismissal of a man of forty-two years' service, and the disgrace and ruin of him and his family *by mistake*, might be of no consequence to the Resident, but it is of infinite consequence to truth and justice, and to our good name as a governing Power. This Jemadar had been placed under arrest on charges of using mutinous language *two days* before the outbreak. He was now dismissed without any examination into the truth of those charges, though, if true, they would at once disprove the assertion, that the act of the Brigadier in arresting the incipient mutiny could be the cause of that which existed at least two days previously.

This unfortunate Jemadar addressed a petition to Government, entreating a trial, and offering to prove on oath that the Rissaldar and Captain Sutherland Orr had prevented his giving evidence before the Court of Inquiry; that they had commanded the whole regiment to say as little as possible when examined; that Captain S. Orr had caused a Sawar, wounded (how it is not known) on the night of the 21st of September, to be cured secretly, in order that no inquiries might be made, and giving the names of the men in question and of several witnesses on each point he alleged. *This the Resident refused either to read or forward to the Supreme Government.*

The decision of Government being made known *before any of the trials had taken place*, the mutinous Sawars, many of whom were previously anxious to give testimony, in hopes of escaping the punishment which they supposed to be hanging over the whole regiment, being reassured, shut their mouths, and no information could henceforth be obtained from them.

Only the Rissaldar and two Jemadars had been dismissed by the last accounts, the others having, it is said, pleaded *innocence and alibis* (!) and the Resident openly affirmed that he had received instructions not to dismiss the Duffadars, as they were not commissioned officers. If the Supreme Government really gave such instructions, it must have been owing to misinformation, as the Duffadars of the Nizam's cavalry are in the position of lieutenants. They sit on courts-martial as commissioned officers, are treated as such when they visit European officers, and their commissions were renewed on the remodelling of the Contingent.

The conduct of the two infantry guards was also impugned; and Havildar Bowanee Uppidiah, commanding the permanent guard, and

Jemadar Sumjaun, who came over with about sixteen men from the Lines, were dismissed the service for not having fired on the mob and defended the Brigadier.

The General Order supposes that "for some men of the two infantry guards there appears to be the palliation that they were placed where possibly *they might not have* distinctly seen what was passing . . . *one had charge of a prisoner.*" This happened to be exactly the case of the dismissed Havildar. He had been sent in charge of the prisoner to the guard-house, and as it was at a considerable distance, and a large building of two storeys intervened between him and the garden where the Brigadier was attacked, he could by no possibility see the outrage, still less fire upon the mutineers. It would naturally be supposed that the Brigadier's distinct testimony on these points would at once have caused the reinstatement of a gallant old soldier dismissed by a mistake, but Mr. Bushby again *refused to forward the petition*. Luckily the Brigadier had already done so, in order that if possible it might reach Lord Dalhousie before he left the country, feeling sure the Governor-General would gladly rectify an involuntary injustice. The case of Jemadar Sumjaun was equally hard. He had shown his zeal by coming over instantly, by causing his men to load as they came. On arriving at the house he received repeated orders as from the Brigadier (which of course he believed) not to fire. The Havildar bore witness to the Brigadier having more than once refused him permission to load. One orderly requested him to seize the only three mutineers who were in sight; another (a Sawar) entreated him with joined hands not to make matters worse by doing so, promising to identify them afterwards. And for this error of judgment, if it was such, he is dismissed, after upwards of thirty years' faithful service. He could get *no direct orders*. At this time Captain Sutherland Orr was in the house; the arrival of the Jemadar and party had been reported to him, *he was therefore the responsible person*, and the native troops did not hesitate freely to remark on the injustice of dismissing the Jemadar, and letting Captain S. Orr, who so grossly neglected his duty, escape scot-free. The Brigadier forwarded the Jemadar's petition, and pointed out that Captain S. Orr was, *de facto*, in command of the party, and not the Jemadar. Whereupon Mr. Bushby accused him of "ungenerous" conduct for endeavouring to lay the blame where it was due, instead of on an innocent man; and, as usual, *refused to lay the petition before the Governor-General*.

When, before his departure for Europe, the Brigadier took leave of the native officers of the 3d Infantry, they one and all entreated

him, many of them with tears in their eyes, to do his best for Jemadar Sunjaun, saying, "He was our brother, and now he is as one dead." And there are still hopes that a British Government cannot be so far deaf to the claims of justice, as not to save these two faithful and gallant old soldiers from unmerited disgrace and ruin.

The 3d Infantry had evinced the most perfect fidelity and zeal. It was to their loyal and determined conduct that every Christian owed life and safety; and not even one of the Mussulmans among them had failed in his duty.

Nevertheless they never received the slightest acknowledgment from either the Resident or the Supreme Government—an omission which, together with the surprising dismissal of the two native officers, who were the first to come to the rescue, caused the deepest disappointment and great bitterness of feeling in both men and officers of that gallant regiment.

This fact alone proves the very imperfect nature of the information conveyed to Government. But had Lord Dalhousie understood the Bolarum Mutiny, and given a decision according to the real facts, he could not have boasted in his farewell minute of the perfect state in which he left the Native Army.*

* That minute was already prepared, and in it his Lordship omitted to mention that it was due to Brigadier Mckenzie *alone* that he was able to make the boast that Berar had been annexed without shedding a drop of blood, or losing a rupee of revenue. Major Mackenzie had obtained these two most desirable objects, first, by exercising the greatest forbearance towards the native authorities, and by steadfastly resisting the importunities of the Brigadier of the Southern Division, who happily was junior to himself, and who did everything to provoke a collision, complaining that at "this rate they would never win their spurs;" and also by taking the precaution to prepare a full and accurate statistic of the districts about to be annexed, upon which he acted by advancing, on his own responsibility (just as the population were preparing to emigrate), the Tukavi or sums necessary to enable the ryots to cultivate their crops, thus saving the people from starvation, and the Government from the loss of at least one year's revenue.

APPENDIX.

GENERAL ORDER, dated Fort-William, January 23, 1856 :

"No. 132 of 1856.—It appears from the Report of a Court of Inquiry, held at Bolarum, the proceedings of which have been laid before Government, that, on the evening of the 21st of September 1855, a very serious outrage was perpetrated on the person of Brigadier Colin Mackenzie, Commanding the Southern Division of the Hyderabad Contingent, by certain Sawars and followers of the 3d Regiment of Cavalry of the Contingent, during the celebration of the Festival of the Mohurru at Bolarum.

"The Most Noble the Governor General of India in Council, having maturely considered the circumstances under which this lamentable occurrence took place, and having directed that the persons concerned in committing the deadly outrage upon the person of Brigadier Mackenzie shall be tried for the offence in the usual form, is pleased to promulgate for general information the conclusions which he considers it necessary to adopt on the present occasion.

"It appears that, on the 20th of September, a Cantonment Order was issued at Bolarum by Brigadier Mackenzie, regulating the arrangements for conducting the processions of the different Regiments at the Station, so as not to interfere with one another; and the Order declared* that no procession, music, or noise would be allowed on any account whatever from twelve o'clock on Saturday night the 22d, to twelve o'clock on Sunday night the 23d, of September. On the 31st a subsidiary Order was issued, modifying* this declaration; it having been ascertained that Sunday, the 23d, was a day of the Festival on which processions were indispensable to its due celebration.

"The Orders thus issued were, in the opinion of the Governor-General in Council, in their general tenor, unusually stringent.† The first Order was not only unusual, but objectionable, in that it put forward the Mohurru in direct conflict with the Christian Sabbath,‡ and so introduced a religious element into the prohibition. But this Order was withdrawn.

"It further appears that, on the evening of the 21st of September, a procession was observed by Brigadier Mackenzie proceeding along one of the roads by which the passage of processions had just been prohibited in orders. As the party approached his own residence, Brigadier Mackenzie sent word to them to be silent and to proceed to their own lines; but the messengers, of whom several were sent,

* Cancelling.

† They were the same as usual.

‡ Inserted by the Brigade-Major *without orders*, and disapproved by the Brigadier and cancelled.

were unsuccessful. Upon this disregard of his orders, the Brigadier himself went up to the procession to enforce compliance, and finding no obedience paid to him, and being met with shouts of defiance, he seized two standards, after struggling with the bearers, and, wresting a sheathed sword from the hand of one of the parties, the Brigadier struck the man with it. One or two followers, who were of the procession, were taken up, and the rest then dispersed. The standards and sword were quietly retained by the Brigadier.*

"Shortly afterwards, an armed mob, issuing from the Cavalry Lines, and having among them, as it appears, many Sawars, broke into Brigadier Mackenzie's garden, murderously assaulted him, and followed him into his house, threatening his life. By the same mob, Lieutenant Murray, Second in Command of the 3d Cavalry Regiment, was wounded and knocked down, and violence was offered to several gentlemen and ladies who happened to pass along the road where they were collected.

"Some of the ringleaders have been arrested, and with them the law of the land will deal.

"It is with sincere regret that the Governor-General in Council finds himself bound to say, that, in his opinion, the immediate and the real cause of the outrage by which Brigadier Mackenzie has so severely suffered was the act of the Brigadier himself in rushing† from his compound into the midst of a Mussulman rabble, roused by the excitement of the Mohurram, and there seizing their standards, and coming into personal conflict with them.

"The Governor-General in Council entertains a high respect for Brigadier Mackenzie, as a good and distinguished Soldier, and as honourable, conscientious, and gallant a gentleman as the Army can show. His Lordship in Council therefore looks with not less regret than disapprobation on the intemperate‡ act which has produced so much evil, and has brought down such grievous suffering upon the Brigadier himself.§ This officer will be compelled by the severity of his wounds to quit Bolarum, and proceed on leave to England.

"But the act of the Brigadier did not justify the murderous violence of those with whom he interfered.

"Neither did it justify the mutinous conduct of the Sawars of the 3d Regiment of Cavalry.

"It is clear to the Governor-General in Council, from the evidence before him, that the greater part of the Regiment in the lines was in a state of open mutiny; some rushed into the streets, cutting and hacking at the passers-by, and brutally assailing even women in their course.

"Their European Officers were not allowed to approach them. They paraded without orders from their European Officers, and without any

* The Brigadier was successful in enforcing his orders.

† He did not rush, he walked out quietly.

‡ There was the intemperance of sending repeatedly, and forbidding to fire?

§ What ought the Brigadier to have done ???

of the usual calls to parade, but by the direction of their Rissaldar. They were armed, and mounted, and equipped. They sent out Videttes to watch the approach of other Troops sent for from Sekunderabad, and acted as a military body guided by other orders than those of their regular European superiors.

"Such proceedings are manifestly destructive of all discipline, and tend not less to destroy all confidence in the fidelity of Troops that serve the Government. They appear to the Governor-General in Council to call for grave animadversion and for severe punishment.*

"They appear to his Lordship in Council to call the louder for animadversion and punishment, that this is not the first time that the Hyderabad Cavalry† has been guilty of violence towards their European Officers.

"The Governor-General in Council is convinced that he would be perfectly warranted in disbanding the whole Regiment, if he so pleased; but it is not his intention to have recourse to so sweeping a measure.

"His Lordship in Council holds that, in every such case as this, it is to the Native Officers that the Government has a right to look for the maintenance of order and fidelity in the Corps. Native Officers have long been in the habit of thinking that, if they only keep themselves clear from any manifest participation in the disaffection of their Corps, if they abstain themselves from any overt act of disobedience or mutiny, no blame will be imputed to them, and they will be allowed to escape with impunity.

"The Governor-General in Council regards this as a most pernicious feeling, which Government should lose no opportunity of eradicating.

"The Native Officers of the 3d Cavalry of the Hyderabad Contingent will, accordingly, now be dealt with as responsible for its conduct.

"That they could have exercised a control over their men is clear, for, when one of their number, Jemadar Shah Mirza Beg, loyally refused to join their tumultuous parade, and ordered the 5th Troop to remain in their quarters, though a very few men had in the first instance paraded, after the Jemadar's orders not a man of the Troop appears to have quitted the lines.

"That, with the exception of Jemadars Shah Mirza Beg and Mozuffur Khan, the Native Officers did not control their men, is shown by the whole tenor of the evidence. They tolerated, if they did not abet, the mutiny; they did all they could to screen their men from blame or punishment; and they lent no assistance whatever to the authorities in their attempts to discover the men of the Regiment who were accused of having committed the murderous assault on the life of Brigadier Mackenzie.‡

"Having regard to these considerations, the Governor-General in Council has resolved on† and hereby directs, the dismissal from the

* Which they have not received.

† The 3d Rissallah.

‡ Of all which Captain S. Orr was guilty.

Service of the Native Commissioned Officers of the 3d Cavalry,* as a fitting and an effectual measure of punishment.

"There will be several exceptions to it.

"Jemadar Shah Mirza Beg, whose conduct was loyal and obedient, will of course be excepted. Officers who were on detachment, or were absent from the lines, or were confined by sickness, will also in justice be excepted. Jemadar Mozuffur Khan is also excepted, he having invited the interposition of the European Officers.†

"Jemadar Shah Mirza Beg is appointed Rissaldar in the Regiment, in the room of Rissaldar Meer Bundah Hussun, now dismissed.

"In making the necessary promotions in succession to the Native Officers dismissed, it is the desire of the Governor-General in Council, that no man of the corps who was present in the lines during the days of the tumult and mutiny shall receive advancement, unless he belonged to the 5th Troop.

"The Orderly Sawar attached to Brigadier Mackenzie on the 21st of September, Guffoor Khan, Bargeer, is advanced to the Rank of Naib Duffadar.

"The Governor-General in Council considers it necessary to note the conduct of the Infantry Guard at the Brigadier's house on the 21st of September.

"It is proved that the permanent Havildar's Guard made no attempt whatever to resist the mob, or defend the person of the Brigadier.

"The Jemadar, who came subsequently with another Infantry Guard, refused to seize rioters who were pointed out to him.

"Brigadier Mackenzie, it appears, had enjoined the Guard not to load when he first saw the mob coming; but that injunction was, in the opinion of the Governor-General in Council, no justification to the Guard for not resisting, when it saw the mob actually cutting down its officer before its eyes.

"The plea of the Jemadar, that he would not take orders from the man who pointed out the culprits, is, in the judgment of the Governor-General in Council, perfectly worthless.‡

"Cowardice in a Soldier is as much to be condemned as mutiny. To defend his Officer is certainly not less his duty than to obey him.

"For some men of the two Infantry Guards there appears to be the palliation that they were placed where possibly they might not have distinctly seen what was passing; some were posted as sentinels; one had in charge a prisoner.§ But the Governor-General in Council can see no palliation or excuse for the conduct of the leaders of these Guards; and his Lordship in Council holding the Commanders as mainly responsible, accordingly directs that Havildar Bowanee Uppa-

* That is, only the Jemadars, according to Mr. Bushby.

† Which he never did! It was the act of the dismissed Jemadar Muhammad Huseyn!

‡ His plea was that he could not get orders from Captain S. Orr.

§ The Havildar's case.

diah, of the 3d Infantry Regiment, and Jemadar Sumjawun, of the 3d Infantry Regiment, of the Hyderabad Contingent, who commanded the two Guards, be dismissed the service.

"The Governor-General in Council, in closing this statement of his views on the lamentable occurrences at Bolarum above detailed, feels constrained to observe, that the evidence before the Court of Inquiry has not left a favourable impression on his mind in regard to Captain Sutherland G. G. Orr, Commanding the 3d Cavalry Regiment, nor satisfied his Lordship in Council that that Officer exhibited as much vigour, resolution, or determination to expose and punish the mutinous conduct of his Corps, as Government would have expected to see in the European Commandant of the Regiment.

"The Governor-General in Council embraces the present occasion to reiterate, in the strongest manner, the injunctions so repeatedly given to Officers in the service of Government, never to interfere with the religious observances of the Natives of India, under their control, further than is actually necessary * for the preservation of the public peace and the maintenance of discipline and order.

"In conclusion, the Governor-General in Council is pleased to direct, that this General Order, pointing out as it does the duties, responsibilities, and liabilities of Native Officers, in cases of mutiny, shall be not only issued to the Hyderabad Contingent, but communicated to all other Forces and Contingents also under the immediate orders of the Government of India."—*Calcutta Gazette, January 26.*

MEMORANDA ON THE MUTINY AT BOLARUM, 21st September 1855,
of the Third Regiment of Hyderabad Cavalry; by a distinguished
Officer of Rank.

"It is quite evident that a mutinous and murderously disposed feeling existed for many days preceding its open exhibition. It is also painfully apparent, that this state of feeling was not unknown to Captain Orr, the European Commandant of that corps; indeed, how could it be otherwise, being, as he was, in hourly communication with the officers and men of his regiment. His subsequent conduct fully and unquestionably established that he was cognizant of this feeling.

"It has frequently occurred that European officers, from mistaken motives of *esprit de corps*, from a natural desire to save themselves and the troops they command from discredit, or from more reprehensible motives, such as moral cowardice, or even apprehension of personal injury, have been deterred from boldly unmasking and punishing such mutinous displays. The late Brigadier Mosely is a lamentable instance of this weakness; and his fate a terrible example of merited punishment. He died in obscurity, degraded, and in penury, because

* There was no interference whatever—merely an ordinary police regulation in force throughout India.

he had not the courage to bring the real truth before the Government.

"On a smaller scale, but with a very lamentable result, Brigadier Mackenzie was kept altogether in the dark; it was never imparted to him that a mutinous disposition had shown itself in the 3d Regiment, H. Cavalry. He therefore could never have imagined that what appeared to him as the mere truculency of a few disorderly camp-followers, was in reality the howling of the coming tempest—the opening scene of a pre-arranged tragedy, of which the indications had been discovered by the Commander of the regiment; but through some fatal aberration of judgment, their disclosure withheld. Had Captain Orr, with officer-like frankness and manly confidence, disclosed to the Brigadier his reasonable apprehensions of tumult and sedition on the part of his regiment, the necessary and most certain precautions could, and would have been adopted, to prevent any such base and infamous violence as afterwards occurred. Neither the person of the Brigadier, the discipline and character of the force, nor the prestige of the Government, could have been outraged, had such timely warning been afforded. But all along the Brigadier was uninformed of the treacher, lurking around him, and consequently powerless when it broke out. This fatal error of Captain Orr's was palpably the substratum of the whole after catastrophe! When the disorderly party so insolently and ostentatiously obtruded itself on the Brigadier's notice, and insultingly defied his authority,—had he, in an abject spirit, hid himself, there can be no question that this festival of the Mochurrum would have been signalized by the most sanguinary atrocities,—the general massacre of the whole European community would, in all likelihood, have been resolved upon, and executed. For, a multitude in revolt, more especially a furious and bigoted race like the Mohammedans, are little disposed to weigh consequences, and, particularly, during the celebration of their saturnalia, are ready for the commission of the most revolting deeds.

"Cavillers may say, why did not Brigadier Mackenzie direct the non-commissioned officer commanding his guard to disperse the rabble? Had he done so, the native serjeant would have been slain, the guard (composed of a few Hindus) put to the sword. One such act commits the mutincers to the perpetration of wholesale villany. Besides, Brigadier Mackenzie, in virtue of his rank and position, exercised his own judgment on this occasion, and by his presence alone subdued the first manifestation of what, unfortunately, he viewed as a mere display of Bazaar truculency. Had he been better informed, nothing would have been attempted in the face of the military precautions which would have been adopted. Had the Havildars (Serjeants) who commanded the two guards exercised their own discretion, and fired on the mob in defiance of the precise orders to the contrary given them by their superior officer in person, and thereby brought on a sectarian rising of the Mohammedan population, grievous would have been their criminality. Their lives would have been justly forfeited

to the offended majesty of the law; for had they by any chance escaped from the hands of the mutineers, and, under a false impression of security, returned to Head-Quarters, their career would have terminated on the gallows.

“It is a dangerous doctrine to promulgate to the army, that soldiers possess the power of setting aside the orders of their military superiors! If Brigadier Mackenzie, regardless of the personal risk, was willing to afford another instance of his thorough contempt of danger, where the interests of the State were concerned, was it for the two native officers to question and mutinously dispute his right to do so? Swayed by feelings of humanity, and the apprehension of causing a general outbreak and massacre, the Brigadier had most expressly forbidden the guard to fire. His high position justified his acting on his own judgment, a judgment ripened by great experience of the Mohammedan character, gained in Afghanistan during that lamentably eventful period, when a British army was massacred by a general rising of the people against the English rule and their puppet king, Shah Shoojah.

“Wanting the prestige of authority, possessing no moral force of character to meet such a threatening emergency, and surrounded by a numerous body of fanatical Mohammedans, the fire of this small party of Hindus would necessarily have been feeble and ineffective, followed by flight, pursuit, and death, to be further succeeded by deeds too fearful to contemplate. This is no fancy picture, but a portrait from life, which every officer of any experience of the Asiatic character, cannot fail to acknowledge and confirm.

“Neither was it for Brigadier Mackenzie to temporize with the truculent rabble, defying his authority in his very presence. It was a moment for action, and the Brigadier was equal to this prompt demand on his courage and *sang froid*. *He was successful*. Yet he has been visited with the recorded disapprobation of the Governor-General, and is held up to the whole army as having, in the devoted execution of his duty, exhibited ‘fanatical intemperance,’ which led to much evil! Brigadier Mackenzie must feel these unmerited stabs of the pen more poignantly than the sabres of his bloodthirsty, cowardly assailants, for whereas the latter attempted his life, the former attacks his professional reputation, dearer to him than life itself. He cannot but feel perfectly sure that had his military conduct throughout this trying ordeal been searchingly investigated by *competent military authority*, approval, and not condemnation, would have awaited him.

“The Brigadier could not, without voluntarily incurring the most abject and deserved disgrace, have neglected, on the occasion in question, to show himself in person when his orders were defied by men placed by the Government under his command. Every sentiment of honour and duty demanded his interposition.

“For when the discipline of armed bodies is concerned, it is a vital principle, which demands that obedience to the orders of superiors should be immediate—unhesitatingly immediate. For a superior to

discuss with his subordinates the object or propriety of his commands, is a surrender of his position, permitting the time of action to slip by, and a miserable compromise of the prestige of that Government, whose representative he is. History affords too many fatal records of the dangers of dallying with incipient indications of mutiny, which may, and generally do, ripen into revolt and rebellion, if not subdued on their first manifestation with vigorous promptitude.

"Irresolution on the part of a Commander to act in a manner becoming the dignity of his station, and its obvious requirements, justly alarms the well-affected, and imparts increased confidence to those arrayed against constituted authority.

"No one can foresee the momentous consequences of a rebellious and successful ebullition on the part of a fanatical soldiery! In India, especially, such ebullitions should be unsparingly stifled in their birth. No punishment, however severe and ignominious, could be too much so, for that Commander who, in such a crisis, fears to accept his responsibility to God and man, and act with brave and salutary determination of purpose. The greatest Chiefs have, by personal intrepidity alone, stemmed and overcome legionary violence and tumult; nor, had they failed, would history have desecrated the memory of such noble acts of devotion and heroic disregard of self, with epithets of reproach and condemnation. The brave mariner who throws himself overboard, in the noble effort to save a drowning messmate, is no less a hero though he perishes in the attempt. It is with the vulgar-minded alone that success constitutes the criterion of merit. To these the retreat of the Ten Thousand, and that crowned by victory at Corunna, can but appear ignominious flights.

"Magnanimity is to such something incomprehensible. It savours of folly.

"The order issued by Brigadier Mackenzie, and designated by the Governor-General as unusually stringent and objectionable, was precisely that directed by the Government to be issued on such occasions, and no more! On this further comment is superfluous.

"The Governor-General declares that he would be perfectly justified in disbanding the whole regiment; but he does not do so, and only a very mild and limited penalty is exacted for an attempt at murder and subversion of all order and discipline. The guilty escape, the innocent suffer.

"His Lordship further felt himself constrained to animadvert on the conduct of Captain S. Orr, Commander of the mutinous regiment of Cavalry, who is pronounced deficient in 'courage,' 'resolution,' and 'determination;' and yet this incompetent officer was still retained by his Lordship in command of a regiment which had displayed such marked and atrocious contempt of military honour and fidelity, he himself having betrayed a signal want of spirit and military devotion towards his superior officer, whom he appears first to have deceived, and afterwards wretchedly abandoned. If conscious of innocence, would not this officer have implored that he might be permitted to

vindicate his character from such grievous imputations before a military tribunal?

"Unquestionably the religious prejudices of every race should be respected; but no less incumbent is it, that the wellbeing of the community, social order, and the institutes of good government, should be respected, upheld, and maintained. Or does the Governor-General's order imply, that when the natives of India celebrate their festivals (many of them Saturnalian orgies), unlimited licence is conceded, and for the time, all the laws of the land are in abeyance? For so will the fanatic, uneducated Asiatic mind interpret the drift of this paragraph. When they consider their religion interfered with, they are permitted to redress themselves!! Religious mutineers in actual revolt must not be interfered with!!!

"Brigadier Mackenzie cannot fear the severest scrutiny into his conduct—he covets it. He was, however, never permitted to defend his professional honour, perilled by the false and sinister statements of men vainly striving to palliate their own baseness, treachery, and miserable pusillanimity.

"The service at large has justly estimated such men and their acts."

Every officer of experience and reputation, whose duties have lain more in camp than in garrison, and have brought him into familiar contact with the wilder spirits which exist in every largo army, to whom the facts contained in the preceding Narrative have been communicated, has expressed himself as essentially of the same opinion with the gallant and accomplished officer whose remarks are quoted above.

Brigadier Mackenzie has, from the first, denied that the Muhammadans had any ground for making his enforcement of the Government orders a ground for religious quarrel, and his view, it has been seen in the Narrative, is held by Muhammadan Doctors of Law, and the most bigoted of all Muhammadan Princes. It is a curious fact, that, two years previous to this outbreak, Brigadier Mackenzie had, in common with all the chief commandants of the contingent, been ordered by the Resident, at the instance of the Prime Minister, to interfere directly with the most sacred feast of the Hindu soldiery, viz., the Dasera, in favour of the fanatic followers of the Prophet. The Hindus were obliged to give up their feast altogether, which they did, however, without anything beyond a respectful remonstrance. This extraordinary partiality in favour of the most troublesome over the most peaceful portion of our subjects, is wofully at variance with the concluding paragraphs of the General Order.

The late Brigadier Jacob entirely forbade the celebration of Moharrum by the men under his command in Scinde, as a body or in cantonments. He was never even found fault with.

Brigadier Mackenzie, when getting better, dictated a letter, to the Resident, pointing out that the officers had as much right to be pro-

protected from the annoyance of Muhammedan processions, as the Muhammedans have from Hindu ones, which they would undoubtedly attack sword in hand.

The effect of Lord Dalhousie's order, by which the men of the loyal infantry were punished nearly as severely as those of the mutinous cavalry, the blame cast upon the Brigadier for doing his plain duty, and the impunity granted to assassins and murderers, had the worst effect. *It taught the Army that Mutiny and Assassination were venial crimes.* More than one officer has since been threatened in the performance of his duty with the words, "Remember what befel Mackenzie Sahib!"—and, instead of the army being taught a lesson, which many officers besides General Bell even then saw "to be greatly needed," and which, had it been consistently followed up, might have averted the mutiny of 1857, they were confirmed in the idea that the Government did not dare to punish, and were encouraged to attempt and perpetrate the horrors which, in less than two years after, deluged India with blood.

OPINION OF GENERAL BELL.

HAVING read the Narrative of the Mutiny at Bolarum in September 1855, I feel that it is but an act of justice to Brigadier Mackenzie for me to state the impression it has left upon my mind. I have been struck with the faithful and correct manner in which the facts connected with that sad affair have been recorded. My conviction is, that the exaggerated accounts which were promulgated on the night of the occurrence of Brigadier Mackenzie's behaviour towards the procession which first passed his house, took such hold of people's minds that they were unable to disabuse themselves of the belief of what they had heard so confidently stated.

It was then thought that the Brigadier was mortally wounded, and could not survive the night.

When Col. T. D. Carpenter and the Rev. Mr. Murphy first reported the outbreak to me (which they did immediately after its occurrence), the former stated that Brigadier Mackenzie had seized the standards of the procession, trampled them under foot, and spit on them, knocked down their bearers, and committed other acts of violence towards them, by which the regiment had been roused to the state of frenzy they were in. I declared that I could not believe Brigadier Mackenzie could be guilty of such madness, but the statement was repeated, and went the round of gantonments, and, unhappily, gained general credence. On the following morning I made every inquiry, and satisfied myself that the whole was a gross fabrication, and concluded that Col. Carpenter must have been imposed upon by the parties who were interested in the consequences of the mutiny.

Brigadier Mackenzie's conduct throughout the whole affair impressed me with the most profound respect for his character; and had

his interference with the procession not led to such unforeseen results, he would have gained due praise from all for the courage which prompted him to enforce the orders he had issued, and which as nearly as possible are promulgated to the Hyderabad Subsidiary Force every year at the Mohurru Festival.

(Signed) JAMES BELL, *Major-General,*
late Commanding Hyderabad Subsidiary Force.

RANGOON, 9th April 1857.

